



A Long Step Back With Bakke

*The Supreme Court
neither served the
interests of the
minorities well nor
addressed the
underlying problem
of limited
opportunity for
everyone.*

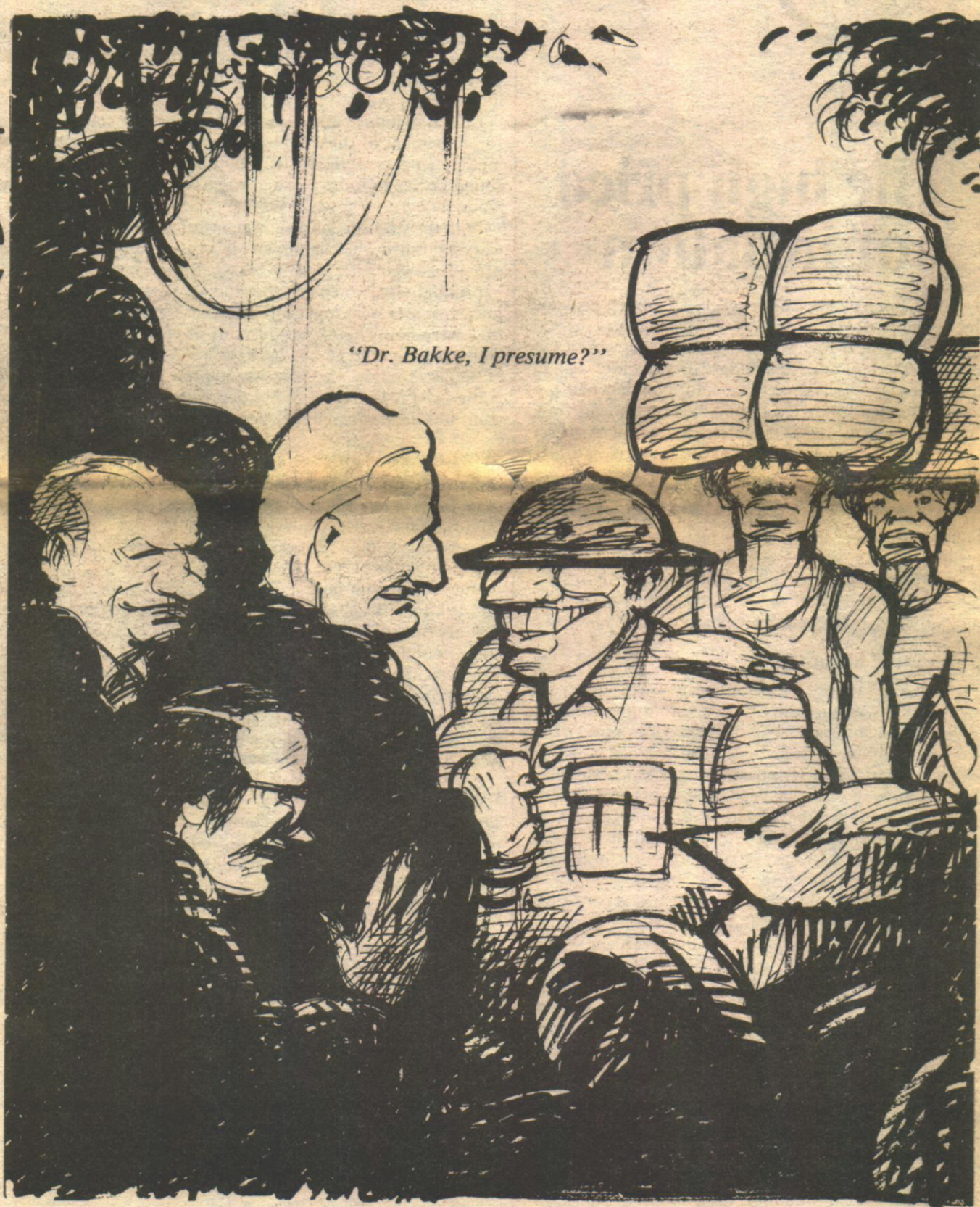


Illustration by Tom Greensfelder

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

'45

'78

The high price of inflation

When Jimmy Carter took office, I expected he would face trouble. It wasn't that he was particularly inept or inexperienced. It was that the problems he would face no longer permitted the standard Democratic/Republican/everybody-gets-something solutions that had prevented Americans from tearing each other apart and from throwing their elected representatives out of office.

Johnson, Nixon, and Ford learned this. Now Carter also has found himself consigned to offering pseudo-solutions to a series of "crises," from the "energy crisis," to the "unemployment crisis," to the "African crisis." But no problem Carter faces better illuminates his historical impotence than the "inflation crisis."

Inflation is indelibly etched into the fabric of post-World War II capitalism. With the tools Carter has available, it cannot be solved, cured or eliminated.

Permanent inflation.

Of course, there was inflation before 1945. Every war or new discovery of gold brought with it inflation. But it was only temporary. The spell was soon broken by a depression-induced deflation.

Since World War II, inflation has been permanent. There has been only one year—1955—when prices did not go up, and then they did not fall, but only remained stationary. Since 1967, moreover, inflation has accelerated, from an average rise of 2.8 percent in the preceding years to an average of 5.9 percent.

Where formerly inflation was primarily a concern of a narrow group of laissez-faire true believers, today it has become everybody's number one problem. Workers have found their incomes declining. Businesses face rising costs and an uncertain investment future. Exporters see their products being priced out of foreign markets. Financiers see foreign firms and governments abandoning the dollar in favor of the *Deutschmark* or the *Yen*.

This permanent, accelerating inflation stems from three developments that are as intrinsic to American capitalism as Wall Street or General Motors: the restrictions on price and wage movements created by the growth of large-scale industry and of organized labor; the commitment by government to preventing depressions; and the continuation after World War II of a wartime economy.

Setting prices and wages.

In the heyday of nineteenth century competitive capitalism, firms fought constant price wars with each other, but as several firms began to dominate steel, automobiles, communications, chemicals, and other manufacturing, they devised informal pricing agreements not to undersell each other and to raise prices as a group rather than individually. These pricing agreements also permitted, in some cases, a more permissive attitude toward wages.

But these arrangements, which might encourage inflation, were imperiled during the Great Depression. Prices fell, and the giants of industry fought for survival.

Both organized labor, which matured during the Depression, and business were determined not to permit a recurrence of the Depression. Business not only feared its

individual economic survival, but the political survival of the system itself.

Symbolized in the Employment Act of 1946, government policy became directed toward preventing another depression. The government employed or maintained workers who might otherwise be unemployed; it attempted to stimulate demand, and to bankroll failing industries; frequently, it ran at a deficit.

In major industry, where 100 firms now accounted for 40 percent of the total manufacturing assets, pricing agreements were reaffirmed. Labor used its newfound power to force a rise in wages of over 3 percent annually.

With the steel and auto agreements of 1946, a pattern was established where labor won increases, but industry often followed with price increases. Because of the rise in productivity, which kept production costs low, these price increases were small compared to present day. But they were nevertheless products of an arrangement in which prices could go nowhere but up.

In this situation, the only way to prevent prices from going up was to have another depression; but government was determined not to permit that to happen.

Wartime economy.

Moreover, through its spending, government added more coals to the inflationary fire. Budget deficits could be inflationary, especially when industry was operating near capacity. The money supply is increased, and interest rates rise.

But government military spending has its own effect on inflation. Because military spending creates goods that are not sold on the market, it creates new income and demand without creating new supply.

In wartime, the combination of deficit spending and military production has always produced a strong impetus toward inflation, which can be temporarily checked by price controls, but must eventually prevail. The U.S. after World War II had a permanent wartime economy.

Inflation accelerates.

The war economy, the non-competitive wage-price arrangements between business and labor, and the government's commitment to preventing depressions were, therefore, a sure recipe for permanent inflation. But until 1967, this inflation remained under 4 percent. By

early 1967, inflation had begun to accelerate—to over 5 percent by the end of 1968 and to a high of 12 percent in 1974. Inflation has now, it seems, reached a plateau of over 6 percent.

One reason for the big jump was the Vietnam war. Throughout the '50s, the government and the Federal Reserve had kept inflation in the 1 to 3 percent range by using fiscal and monetary policy when necessary, to induce mild recessions. By 1967, unemployment was down to 3 percent, creating an upward pressure on wages and prices and a threat to profits. The wartime budget added further pressure.

Determined not to risk further unpopularity through setting up wartime economic restrictions, Johnson permitted the situation to go on, leading to spiralling inflation.

In the '70s, with the defense budget still high, energy and other commodity costs rose suddenly, leading to the spectacular price rises of 1973 and 1974.

But there was another reason for the new inflationary plateau. Since the late '60s, the world capitalist economy has become stagnant. The rapid industrial growth of Europe, North America, and Japan finally led to a situation, where world markets are not big enough to buy all the goods that capitalist steelmakers, shipbuilders, or automakers are able to produce. Since the late '60s, capitalists have therefore been cutting back on investments, using their surplus funds for diversification or speculation rather than expansion.

This has affected the rate of productivity. As General Electric's Arthur M. Beuche explained to *Business Week*: "We [should] step back and look at R&D [Research and Development] for what it really is: an investment. It is an investment that, like more conventional investments, has become increasingly less attractive."

According to Michael Evans, the president of Chase Econometric Associates, productivity grew at an annual rate of 2.8 percent between 1947 and 1968, but has only grown at an annual rate of 1.3 percent between 1968 and 1978. Last year, in 25 of 66 industries studied by the Labor Department, productivity did not increase at all.

With the rate of productivity not rising, industry has no way of cushioning increases in materials and labor costs. It either must resist wage increases at all costs, as in the fiber industry, or if it cannot do so, as in steel or auto, it must sharply raise its prices to preserve its rate of profit.

Fading image.

Lagging productivity, combined with continuing federal deficits, has raised inflation to a new plateau from which it leaps, when provoked, to still greater heights. This is what has occurred this year, when rising meat and food prices, bad weather, and steel price rises induced by protectionist measures against Japanese steel, inspired a 1.3 percent inflation rate in April, equivalent to a 16 percent annual rate.

Jimmy Carter has responded by calling for federal workers to hold their wage gains to below the inflation rate, permitting meat imports to rise, and eliminating reforms from his tax cut. All sides recognize that these are feeble measures which might, at best, chip the fin of the rocket but will hardly alter its course.

The only effective capitalist solution to inflation remains a depression. All other remedies, such as wage-price controls, have proven temporary expedients at best.

But neither Carter nor any other politician is willing to pay the price of another depression: riot, rebellion, and possibly the overthrow of the system itself.

They are therefore consigned to debating non-remedies and pseudo-solutions and hiring media specialists to shore up their fading images.

Next week: The competing non-remedies.

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At Latin Conference

Hispanics flex their political muscles

The Hispanic vote has already made the decisive difference in several state elections.

By Mark Shwartz

LAS VEGAS

HISPANIC LEADERS FROM throughout the U.S. have put President Carter and other top Democrats on notice: Unless they begin to recognize the political clout of Spanish-speaking Americans, they will lose one of their most reliable power-bases.

And, according to delegates to the recent 49th annual convention of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) here, the loss of the traditional Hispanic block vote would not only cost the Democrats crucial state elections but could be the decisive factor in who wins the 1980 presidential nomination.

"At this point, President Carter is very vulnerable in the Chicano community in Texas and throughout the Southwest," said Ruben Bonilla, state director of the Texas LULAC chapter. "Depending on Gov. [Jerry] Brown's success with Proposition 13 in California, we believe that either Gov. Brown or Sen. Teddy Kennedy could beat Carter in the Texas Chicano community."

The growing political importance of Hispanics—whose number is now estimated at over 16 million—was reflected by the presence of top Republican and Democratic figures at the convention.

"In a few short years you should represent the largest minority in America," John White, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, told conventioners, "and with that should go the power and prestige you deserve."

White said that while President Carter has not done enough for Hispanics, "it is the best any administration has yet achieved."

But the 2,000 delegates from LULAC, whose 200,000-member organization is one of the oldest and largest non-partisan Hispanic groups in America, were less than enthusiastic with White's address. Some expressed hostility over the failure of Carter to meet with LULAC officials and other Chicano leaders during his recent visit to Texas.

Double standard.

"There was no concerted effort to freeze out any national organization," Rick Hernandez, top Chicano White House assistant, assured the audience. "I know that LULAC represents a large constituency in this country."

"This administration recognizes there is a 'brown wave' sweeping this country," Hernandez continued. "They need us. They have to have our votes."

But Bonilla remained skeptical. "President Carter has said that the needs of Hispanics are similar to the needs of blacks in the 1950s, although not as crucial. The Department of Justice under Carter has a double standard—one for blacks and one for Hispanics. Carter meets with Vernon Jordan but snubs the LULAC leadership."

"I do not mean to pit blacks against Chicanos," Bonilla continued, "but it is up to President Carter to take the leadership."

That message was not lost on Republican National Chairman Bill Brock, who warred convention delegates, "When you get locked into one organization [the Democratic Party], you get taken for granted. I think that has happened to this community too much."

Brock made an appeal to the traditionally conservative values in Mexican-American life: the family, the work ethic

and religion. He also declared that the problem of illegal immigration from Mexico can only be solved by the economic development of Mexico, and he suggested the possible creation of a common market with Latin American countries.

"I need your help and I need your participation," Brock said, "in order to improve the party—to enrich it and give it a diversity of ideas."

Crucial vote in some states.

The Hispanic vote already has proven to be a crucial factor in several states, according to LULAC delegates.

"Mexican-Americans are the key to the survival of the Democrats in the Southwest," Eduardo Morga, LULAC national president, told the convention on June 23. He then surprised many delegates by saying he would boycott the November elections for governor of California to protest Gov. Jerry Brown's position on the Jarvis-Gann initiative.

Morga predicted that street violence would occur in California cities this summer because of the cutback in various programs as a result of the passage of Proposition 13.

Although many delegates said they were distressed by Morga's predictions, most felt their voting power was too important to abandon.

Two days after his speech, Morga was swept out of office by Ed Pena, a Washington, D.C., lawyer, who opposed the voter strike.

"We think that voting is the most im-

portant and strongest tool we have as individuals," Ralph Ochoa, California state legislative assistant, said. He received a thunderous ovation when he added, "not to vote would be to take ourselves back even further than Jarvis-Gann does."

"I would not advocate a voter boycott in Texas," Bonilla said. He said that Texas Attorney General John Hill owes his upset victory as the Democratic gubernatorial candidate to the Mexican-American constituency.

The incumbent candidate, Gov. Dolph Briscoe, "had alienated the Mexican-American voter," Bonilla argued, while Hill won Chicano support for his "vigilant and effective investigation of police brutality cases in Houston and elsewhere," and for his support of equal education services.

As for the Texas senatorial race, Republican incumbent John Tower, and Democratic nominee Robert Krueger "have both made very strong appeals to the Mexican-American community," Bonilla said. "Five years ago, such appeals would have been made only behind closed doors."

Bonilla warned that Carter could risk defeat in 1980, "unless he deals with Chicano issues in a more substantive manner."

Leadership crisis.

But the Hispanics face their own internal leadership problems.

"When you think of farmworkers, you think of Cesar Chavez," said one Illinois delegate, "but there's no one the media can turn to and say, 'This is a spokesman

for the urban Chicano.'"

Manuel Lopez, a San Francisco lawyer and past president of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA), agreed that there is a "leadership vacuum. We were just saying that what we might need are three or four urban leaders from Texas, California and New Mexico to speak out publicly."

The importance of the urbanized Hispanic was emphasized by Donald Elisburg, assistant secretary of Labor, who noted to conventioners that four out of five Latinos now live in urban areas.

Why are there no nationally recognized urban Hispanic figures?

"We eat up our own leaders like cannibals," replied California delegate Margaret Cruz. "We expect much more of our leaders than we should."

Bonilla agreed. "We have a natural political competition—*envidia* [jealousy]—which has always been one of our shortcomings. We're so concerned with patronage we're easily used by politicians."

He also noted that Hispanics have been unable to form alliances with traditionally sympathetic elements. "Blacks are able to get funding from the liberal and Jewish communities, but Mexican-Americans are unable to do so. Perhaps they believe that there are too many of us in comfortable, middle-class positions."

But, Bonilla added, "We are somewhat decentralized and factionalized because we do lack direction."

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Mark Shwartz is an editor of Pacific News Service who specializes in coverage of minorities.



IN THE NATION

LABOR

Cotton dust divides administration

By Bob McMahon

LOUIS HARRELL WAS BURIED in Roanoke Rapids, N.C., at 2:00 p.m. June 19. For 40 years Harrell had worked in the cotton mills for J.P. Stevens. For three years his photo, emerging lint-covered at the end of a shift, had symbolized the Carolina Brown Lung Association on a poster with the stark warning, "Cotton Dust Kills."

Like many other workers who had been disabled by byssinosis, or brown lung, Louis Harrell died waiting for his worker's compensation claim to be settled.

The very hour that Louis Harrell was buried, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration held a press conference in Washington to announce new cotton dust exposure limits.

The standards—designed to protect workers against the crippling effects of cotton dust in the lungs—were a compromise product following a month of intense political battles within the Carter administration.

Like many compromises, they left few satisfied. The same day the new rules were issued both the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and the American Textile Manufacturers Institute filed notice of intent to challenge the rules in court.

Nor has the cotton dust compromise settled underlying differences within the Carter administration.

The immediate conflict began May 2 when Charles Schultze, chairman of the Council on Economic Advisers, urged a delay in issuing the cotton dust rules while they were studied by the Regulatory Analysis Review Group in the White House. Schultze's request was seconded by Robert Strauss, head of Carter's anti-inflation program.

On May 18, Schultze's subordinate, Barry Bosworth of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, ordered a hold on issuance of the regulations while President Carter and his staff reviewed their inflationary impact.

Bosworth and Schultze reportedly were pressing for a much longer period to implement the regulations than the 180 days initially proposed by OSHA. They also wanted greater reliance on protective masks and medical surveillance to spot workers with early stages of the disease, rather than more costly engineering controls to clean the air in the mills.

Labor Secretary Ray Marshall protested vigorously against the proposed changes, warning Carter that a delay in stricter standards would "cause a major political upheaval among such groups as textile unions, the AFL-CIO, the Brown Lung Association, public interest groups and the Congress."

Past interference.

Marshall explained that unions and other groups were "very sensitive" about the delay "since there is documentation that the administration of President Richard Nixon held out a delay in this standard as an enticement to generate political contribution for the 1972 campaign."

(In 1972 cotton dust was designated as one of five "target health hazards" for swift action. Later that year OSHA director George Guenther suggested that inaction on cotton dust and other controversial standards could be traded for business support for Nixon's re-election campaign. Guenther's memo on cotton dust surfaced during the Senate Watergate hearings.)

The seesaw debate that followed over the next several weeks—with now one side, then the other, gaining Carter's backing—followed a year of efforts by Carter's economic advisers to use the cotton dust standard as a test case for attacking federal regulations they considered inflationary.

During hearings on the cotton standard last spring the Council on Wage and Price Stability intervened, urging modifications of the suggested rules on the basis of an analysis of their alleged "inflationary impact."

Schultze, along with such other leading Carter advisers as domestic policy aide Stuart Eizenstat, Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal, and then-director of the Office of Management and the Budget Bert Lance, called for all new federal standards and regulations to be accompanied by time-consuming analyses of their economic impact. Agencies that would have been most affected by the requirement included OSHA, the Environmental Protection Agency, the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and the Food and Drug Administration.

The advisers pushed for establishment of the Regulatory Analysis Review Group in the White House as a tool for intervening in the regulatory process.

In July 1977 Schultze, Lance and Eizenstat advocated eliminating most OSHA regulations and replacing them with a system of higher worker's compensation benefits for accidental injury.

Compromise already.

OSHA's cotton dust rules already embodied a number of compromises. Dust exposure levels for yarn preparation were set at a different level (0.2 milligrams per cubic meter) than dust in the weaving room (0.75 milligrams per cubic meter). Other industrial operations involving exposure to cotton dust, such as cottonseed oil mills, were required to meet an exposure standard of 0.5 milligrams.

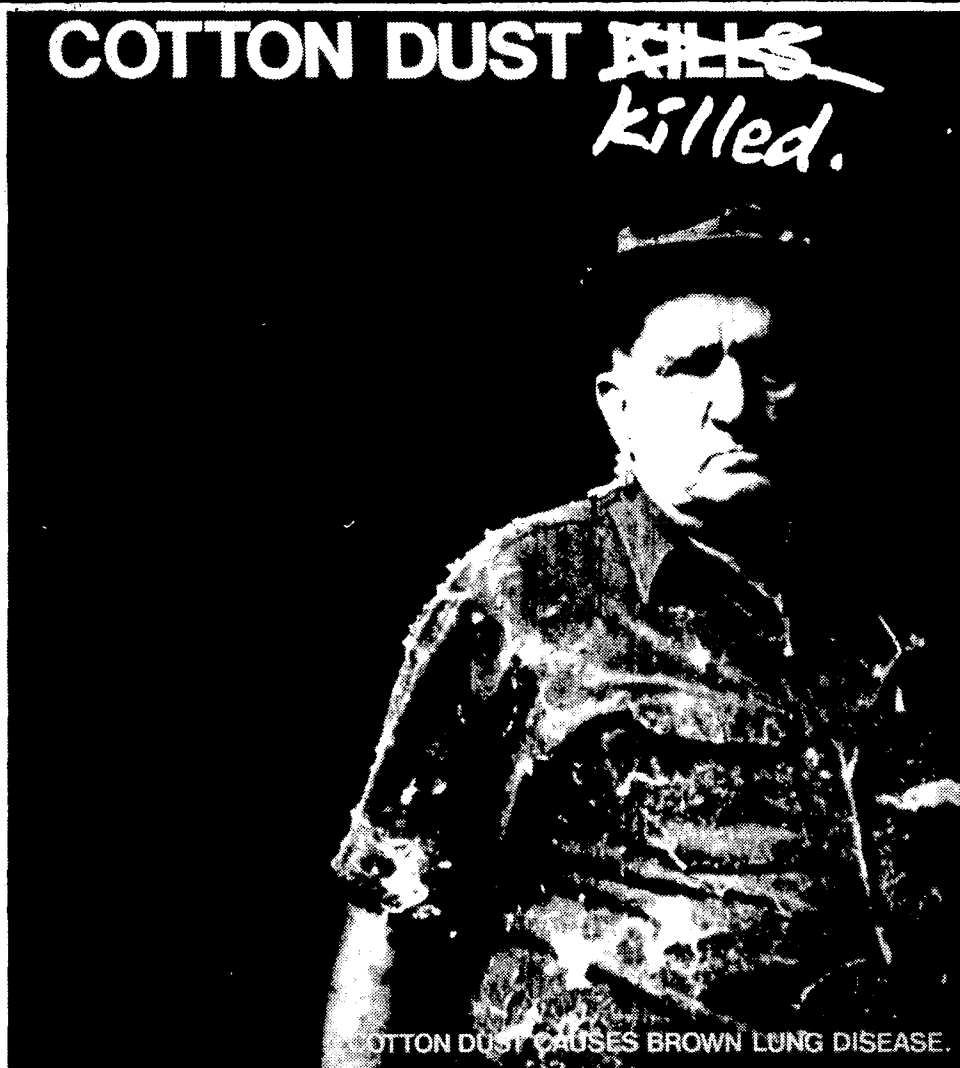
Can officials disagree with their union?

If allowed to stand, David Newman's dismissal as shop steward could spell the death knell for the right to dissent for all union officers.

By Dan Marschall

EVERY MEMBER OF ANY LABOR organization shall have the right to meet and assemble freely with other members; and to express any views, arguments, or opinions; and to express at meetings of the labor organization his views...

With these high-sounding words, the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 supposedly protects the rights of union members to speak freely, assemble and disagree with union policies. A New York City lawsuit, which could end up in the hands of the Supreme Court, may determine



While these exposure limits were maintained after a month of maneuvering, the economic advisers obtained a four-year grace period for the manufacturers to put these standards into effect. The industry was also given somewhat greater latitude to use less costly methods, such as masks, to meet the standard.

The four-year delay was immediately criticized by union and Brown Lung Association representatives. "The textile companies got Carter's economic advisers to buy them more time," said Lacy Dawkins of the Erwin, N.C.; Brown Lung Association. "But time is something that brown lung victims don't have to sell."

ACTWU and the Brown Lung Association have indicated that they will also sue to challenge the 0.2 milligram level in yarn operations and 0.75 in weaving. The groups had asked for a 0.1 mg dust level in all operations.

A 1973 study of brown lung by Dr. James Merchant estimated that 13 percent of workers exposed would show

some state of brown lung at the level proposed by OSHA. The level the textile workers' groups asked for would cut this at least in half.

Some 35,000 current and former textile workers are estimated to suffer some degree of disability from brown lung.

At the same time the battle over cotton dust was going on in Washington, Schultze was seeking modification of new air pollution regulations proposed by the Environmental Protection Agency.

Environmentalists are preparing to do battle to "get the whole regulatory analysis program scrapped," says Robert Rauch of the Environmental Defense Fund.

In Raleigh, N.C., Lacy Dawkins observed, "During the past few weeks we have watched as our country's leaders put a price tag on the worth of a Southern textile worker's life. It is sad to us that the people who make the clothes that this country wears will pay with their lives for Carter's war on inflation."

whether rank and filers relinquish those rights when elected to union office.

The case involves Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 1101, which represents 11,000 telephone workers in New York. In the fall of 1976 the leadership of Local 1101 removed from office David Newman, an elected shop steward and CWA member since 1971, for writing an article in a shop-level newsletter.

Newman had criticized the local's leadership for stifling rank-and-file involvement in union affairs and then urged that the membership prepare to strike if their demands were not met in upcoming contract negotiations.

Immediately after the article appeared, local president Edward Dempsey removed Newman and announced categorically that though members could criticize the local, any steward who did so would be booted out of office at once.

After being "denied access to internal union appeals," Newman says, he and 21 other Local 1101 members filed suit against the local, arguing that the law protects both union members and representatives from being disciplined for expressing their views.

Newman's case was upheld initially by the federal district court, which ordered that he be recertified. On appeal, how-

ever, the decision was reversed in a broad ruling that New York telephone workers see as a serious threat to the democratic rights of all trade unionists.

The Appeals Court held that "like any on-going enterprise" a union is a top-down organization and that a steward is simply "an agent of the local's management." Before this decision, most federal courts that considered the issue had found that union members do not surrender their free-speech rights when elected to union office.

"In this case," Newman says, "the courts have gone further than ever before in giving union bureaucrats the power to require total obedience from lower-level officials. The implications are clear. If this decision is allowed to stand, it will be a victory for both the employers and the union bureaucrats, and a setback not just for us in the CWA, but for all workers."

The Teamsters union has already prepared an internal memo on the case and sent it to its locals. One Teamster steward, according to Newman, has been threatened with dismissal on the basis of the court decision.

Newman and his rank-and-file supporters are still pursuing the case and intend to take it to the Supreme Court if necessary.



PRIMITIVE BUREAUCRATIC TRIBES ARE STILL ATTEMPTING TO QUIET VOLCANIC ERUPTIONS WITH HUMAN SACRIFICE.

TAX REVOLT

Prop 13 ends new Deal approach

By Larry Remer

WHILE THE REST OF THE country watches anxiously, anticipating the day when the Great Taxpayer Revolt will reach them, Californians are carefully sorting out the new economic arrangements last month's passage of the Jarvis-Gann Initiative—Proposition 13—will mean.

Though Howard Jarvis is the paid director of the Apartment Owners Association of Los Angeles and much of the financing of the initiative drive came from powerful real estate interests, at the base of this movement is a widespread feeling of anti establishment frustration and populist anger. The overwhelming passage of Jarvis-Gann was a clear signal that the middle class is fed up with high taxes and big government. Witness this *Los Angeles Times* report on the Jarvis victory party the night the initiative passed:

"When Jarvis assailed foes of his initiative, including Gov. Brown, Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy, and Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, he drew loud and sympathetic boos from the crowd.

"The loudest came when he attacked institutions which fought Prop. 13 either editorially or with campaign contributions. The *Los Angeles Times*, Bank of America, Atlantic Richfield, and Broadway-Hale Stores."

How did Howard Jarvis and the real estate lobby wind up leading such a potent, grass roots movement?

The answers are hidden in the character of California's political economy, in the failure of Gov. Brown and the liberals in the state legislature to respond to a growing crisis, and in the inability of the state's progressive forces—unions, citizen groups, and community organizations—to mount a strong effort on behalf of progressive tax reform.

After nearly 30 years on the hustings, Howard Jarvis' time came in 1978. The 75-year-old tax reform advocate had been dismissed as a crank after two previous efforts to limit property taxes had failed. But that was before inflation in the cost of California homes and property began climbing at rates of more than 15 and 20 percent annually. When \$35,000 homes became \$60,000 homes in less than three years, with assessments and taxes keep-

ing pace, the stage was set for a homeowners' tax revolt.

Progressive alternative blocked.

At the same time, the state government was picking up an unbelievable surplus of more than \$5 billion, thanks in part to the refusal of Gov. Brown to embark on new spending programs.

It was assumed that the state surplus would be used to provide tax relief to beleaguered homeowners and, early this year, when Brown convened a special session of the legislature for that purpose, a progressive tax reform bill—SB 154—came to the fore.

Led by the California Tax Reform Association (CTRA), a citizens' tax lobby, and backed by a broad coalition of progressive forces, including the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), the state AFL-CIO, and Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy, with broad support from community groups throughout the state, SB-154 would have used the state surplus for tax relief for homeowners and rebates for renters. It would also have closed tax loopholes.

But 1978 is an election year for Brown and he began the year with an eye toward muting criticism from the business community that his administration was anti-business.

Instead of plugging tax loopholes, Brown pledged to fight for the creation of one: elimination of the unitary method of taxation, which allows the state to take into account the worldwide operations of multinational corporations in figuring what percentage of that business came as a result of their California assets and should therefore be taxed. Japanese auto manufacturers had cited this tax as a major reason for refusing to construct auto assembly plants in California, and Brown hoped his gesture would woo them.

It was estimated that elimination of the unitary method of taxation would cost California taxpayers between \$100 and \$200 million annually.

With his eyes on the corporate elite, Brown failed to go to bat for SB-154, effectively killing it.

This gave Howard Jarvis the political opening to put Prop. 13 on the ballot. With the burgeoning coffers of the real estate lobby at his disposal, Jarvis col-

lected 1.2 million signatures in record time.

No effection coalition.

Even so, most pundits feel that Brown and the legislature could have headed off the passage of Prop. 13 if they'd designed an adequate alternative. But Prop. 8—which they offered on the same ballot as Jarvis—offered too little too late. Brown refused to earmark more than \$1.5 billion of the surplus for tax relief and, during the legislative wrangling over the shape of the proposal, the real estate lobby bottled up any truly progressive tax remedies.

In the meantime, the battle to stop the Sunders nuclear plant from being built moved to center stage for the state's activist network, which presently lacks the resources and organization that would have been necessary to counter Jarvis. And labor was hopeful that the opposition of Brown, coupled with opposition from the corporate establishment, which felt Jarvis was too drastic, would effectively stop Prop. 13. Thus, no effective activist-labor coalition came together to fight Prop. 13.

Those most affected by Prop. 13 are public employees, who face massive layoffs, and the poor, who face imminent cuts in social services. It will be a year, however, before the true impact will be seen. Just two weeks after the passage of Prop. 13 Brown signed an emergency bailout bill, which dipped into the surplus to provide local governments with 90 percent of the funds they would have lost and forestall, temporarily, layoffs and massive service cutbacks.

End of the New Deal.

Nevertheless, Jarvis-Gann is a watershed in the post-World War II development of California. Ever since FDR, liberal government economics have been based on New Deal theories that by taxing the middle class, the poor can be given the bare essentials. That premise is dead as a political postulate. The middle class won't buy it. The number of poor have been growing with the bite of government getting bigger. At the same time as the middle class' lifestyle is threatened by inflation and unemployment.

If the poor want more money for social services in the future, they will have to ask the government to increase taxes

for large corporations and wealthy individuals.

Playing to the Jarvis mood of the voters, Brown has done an adroit political pirouette. He abandoned his Jarvis opposition a week before the election when the polls definitely said it would win. By the week after the election news commentators across the state had nicknamed him "Jerry Jarvis" for the way he was insisting that his "era of limits" philosophy had been consistent with the ideas of Jarvis all along.

By taking a hard line against scheduled cost-of-living increases for state employees, Brown has indicated that labor support is expendable in November. He made page one headlines—and many say votes—when he was booed by 1,500 public employees on the Capitol Mall in Sacramento just after he announced his bailout plan.

California labor unions—with public employees constituting a major component—are faced with a serious dilemma as a result of Jarvis: how to protect jobs in the face of angry taxpayers. Many public employee union leaders have noted an increased "proletarianization" of their members, with less reliance on civil service protection and a greater appreciation of the values of unionism.

In an effort to forestall any drastic cutbacks in a year when the state surplus is gone, an effort is being mounted by a labor-community coalition to put a measure on the November ballot that would limit the Jarvis tax ceiling to residential property, putting commercial and industrial properties back on the tax rolls. A petition drive—spearheaded by the same forces that pushed SB-154 initially—has been started to garner 100,000 signatures in an effort to pressure the legislature to pass a bill that would place such a measure on the ballot.

It would be more likely that such a grass roots effort from the progressive forces in California would succeed if the Jarvis cuts had taken effect immediately. But now that they're postponed for a year, and until after the election, it would take a firm gesture by Gov. Brown to get such a measure through the legislature and on to the ballot. Still smarting from the Jarvis vote, Brown has yet to indicate which direction his zenguru instincts will take him.

Larry Remer is a reporter in San Diego.

The Bakke Decision

By Laurence R. Sperber

JUSTICE LEWIS F. POWELL JR. HAS manufactured an unforeseen compromise solution to the potentially disastrous consequences of the *Bakke* case for affirmative action programs in education and general employment. Powell secured the agreement of four justices to his holding that race may continue as a factor in the selection of university students, while joining four other justices in the conclusion that quotas or goals as utilized by California's Davis Medical School in its affirmative action program were invalid.

In dissenting, the only black member of the Court, Justice Thurgood Marshall, viewed the decision as carrying dire consequences for the hope of racial equality. But in the week since the decision there has been an astonishing consensus among affirmative action advocates that the opinion can be lived with. Eleanor Holmes Norton, chief of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, said her affirmative action programs in industry would survive, noting that Powell had cited with approval appeals court cases upholding numerical targets in industry.

It is clear, if nothing else is, that *Bakke* did not deal a death blow to employment quotas, yet. The Court's refusal on July 3 to disturb the AT&T affirmative action settlement bears out this view.

Quick to abandon commitments:

Doubts remain, however. Columnist Tom Wicker wasted no time in finding that "a preliminary study of the Court's blizzard of opinions suggests that the validity and potential of affirmative action programs may have been seriously—if not fatally—undermined by the decision...." And buried in Anthony Lewis' more cheerful analysis lies an unwitting key: "Whether universities will use their discretion to continue bringing more black and other minority students into the stream of higher education will be entirely up to them."

So what's wrong with that? A pair of California examples from recent history, after the California *Bakke* decision but before the Supreme Court's solution, show that the administrators of two leading California law schools were quick to temper their enthusiasm for affirmative action by drastic cuts in the program at Hastings Law School and UCLA law school.

In both places the students protested. At Hastings the students won almost all their demands—that there not be cuts in the number of minority students admitted, and no reduction in the power of the student advisory admissions committee. At UCLA the administration waited till just before final exams to cut the Chicano input in half, and the ensuing strike that tied up classes (a sit-in) was beaten by the on-rush of exams. Even so the administration secured peace by promising to "reconsider."

It has never been the universities' goodwill that created or preserved affirmative action; it will be less so now. At least the fixed numerical goals gave the civil rights people a standard by which to judge the performance of the schools' admission methods. Now quotas are out, and race is "a factor."

There is a plurality opinion on the Supreme Court finding a First Amendment interest in a diverse student body, which means that education must serve the people. Who will keep the admissions officers "honest," except the persons whose

interests are at stake? How can they judge performance without resort to ratios, like those which fill the pages of the dissenting justices, showing that after all these years we have only 1 or 2 percent minority practitioners of medicine or law?

Join the real world.

Justice Harry A. Blackmun concurred in saying "race as a factor." His words are worth repeating, coming from a white conservative:

"I, of course, accept the propositions that...Fourteenth Amendment rights are personal;...and...the Fourteenth Amendment has expanded beyond its 1868 conception.... This enlargement does not mean for me, however, that the Fourteenth Amendment has broken away from its moorings and its original intended purposes. Those original aims persist. And that, in a distinct sense, is what 'affirmative action,' in the face of proper facts, is all about.... I am not convinced, as Mr. Justice Powell seems to be, that the difference between the Davis program and the one employed by Harvard is very profound or constitutionally significant. The line between the two is a thin and indistinct one. In each, subjective application is at work.... The cynical, of course, may say that under a program such as Harvard's one may accomplish covertly what Davis concedes it does openly. I need not go that far, for despite its two-track aspect, the Davis program, for me, is within constitutional bounds, though perhaps barely so."

"The sooner we get down the road to accepting and being a part of the real world, and not shutting it out and away from us, the sooner will these difficulties vanish from the scene.... In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race. There is no other way...."

Is proof required?

One serious pitfall in the case is the general agreement by everyone that there was no evidence in the record that Davis had discriminated in the past. Some justices assumed the absence of evidence was tantamount to the fact of no past discrimination. Powell noted that cases that had allowed affirmative action all were instances where past discrimination had been found to exist in the policies of the institution or employer by some court, administrator, or executive agency. (Of course, the university in fighting the case did not want to prove that it had discriminated in the past.)

There has been a growing line of court decisions requiring not simply societal discrimination, but proof of intentional discrimination. Conclusions drawn from statistical summaries of minority population compared to admissions no longer will suffice. Statements have been made public showing a past policy of discrimination at the medical school of the University of California. California Justice Stanley Mosk has said that if there had been such evidence it would have been another case. But now the law is that quotas or goals cannot be saved in the absence of proof of prior discrimination of an intentional kind.

If this doctrine is extended to employment cases, it will be a roadblock in the path of the essential goal of ending a situation where blacks and browns suffer double unemployment rates and consistent economic disadvantage. The federal courts are loaded with cases that have followed *Bakke*.

Nothing seems more absurd than requiring proof of discrimination in a society where it is the rule, not the exception.



Even though the compromise avoided a disastrous decision, we must not lose sight of the historical fraud perpetrated in the plurality opinion. The last word on the subject must be taken from Justice Marshall's angry dissent:

"There is thus ample support for the conclusion that a university can employ race-conscious measures to remedy past societal discrimination, without the need for a finding that those benefited were actually victims of that discrimination."

"While I applaud the judgment of the Court that a university may consider race in its admissions process, it is more than a little ironic that, after several hundred years of class-based discrimination against Negroes, the Court is unwilling to hold that a class-based remedy for that discrimination is permissible.... In declining to so hold, today's judgment ignores the fact that for several hundred years Negroes have been discriminated against, not as individuals, but rather solely because of the color of their skins. It is unnecessary in 20th century America to have individual Negroes demonstrate that they have been victims of racial discrimination; the racism of our society has been so pervasive that none, regardless of wealth or position, has managed to escape the impact."

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The most unfortunate result of the Court's decision to order Allan Bakke (above) admitted to the U.C.-Davis Medical School is that it focuses undue attention on affirmative action programs when the real culprit is the lack of opportunity for everyone.

Better than expected but still not good

By David Moberg

IN SIFTING THROUGH THE MULTIPLE Supreme Court opinions delivered in the much-debated case of Allan Bakke, various observers have come up with differing interpretations of what they think is the core of the judgment.

By striking down the quota system at the University of California medical school in Davis, the *Wall Street Journal* editorialist wrote, the Supreme Court had most clearly rejected quotas and "established a limit on official discrimination."

But numerous black leaders and the chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Eleanor Holmes Norton, saw the core of the decision as vindication of affirmative action programs in some form.

Prof. Charles Hamilton, co-author of *Black Power*, thought that the main winners were university admissions officers, now given a freer hand in designing their criteria for a "diverse" student body, using race in the same manner as geography or athletic skills to balance admissions.

Affirmative action program supervisors fear and at least some groups of white workers appear to hope that the Bakke decision will open up new opportunities to challenge specific features of affirmative action plans in court.

With all these varied interpretations surfacing, another "core" can be found in the Bakke case: even if affirmative action has been supported in principle, the mechanics of affirmative action have been left up in the air. They will undoubtedly be litigated for years to come.

Even more important, the mechanics and consequently the real impact of affirmative action will become more a question of politics and less one of court adjudication. The courts will set some parameters, Justice Lewis Powell said in his deciding opinion, but the programs and classifications on which they're based must be recognized as "political judgments," and those "are the product of rough compromise struck by contending groups within the democratic process."

A gradual realization of this may be behind the shifting opinion of Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. At first he called the decision a "clear-cut victory for voluntary affirmative action," but within a week he warned that it could inspire "a rash of lawsuits by those who would like to use the Bakke case as a means of rolling back the clock on minority progress in the nation."

Jesse Jackson, director of People United to Save Humanity (PUSH), sounded the strongest alarm about how the Bakke decision would encourage a rightward turn in American politics. "We will not be protected if race may be considered," he warned. "We will only be protected if race must be considered. Now blacks must depend on 'the will of the American people,' and it is basically an ill will. Brothers and sisters, we are now facing a head wind, not a tail wind," he said at the weekly PUSH

meeting following the Bakke judgment.

It is not clear how the Bakke case, which concerned university admissions, will affect other programs to redress racial injustice. Although the Supreme Court closed its season by supporting the affirmative action plan established by consent decree at American Telegraph and Telephone, the corporation thinks that the Bakke decision will change their operation. Other case coming up—such as challenges to minority "set-asides" in construction contracts and to a training plan at Kaiser Aluminum—could further hamper or confuse affirmative action in employment.

With a Supreme Court heavily weighted with Nixon appointees, civil rights advocates had feared the worst and thus celebrated when the Bakke ruling was not uniformly negative. But in the coming political battle over the details of affirmative action, which will generally offer more discretion to the administrators, blacks and other minorities favoring affirmative action face strong opposition. The sluggish employment prospects, combined with a diminished sense among whites of discrimination as a contemporary barrier to blacks, will sharpen the white/black contest over prized jobs and university slots.

As one "contending party," the black movement is now in disarray, although the need to defend affirmative action gains could stir up new activity.

Sociology professor William Julius Wilson, who stressed the growing access of blacks to top jobs in his recent book, *The Declining Significance of Race*, disagrees with Jesse Jackson's portrayal of the Bakke decision as marking the "end of the second Reconstruction." He doesn't expect corporations or universities to take advantage of the decision to fight affirmative action because "affirmative action doesn't really require any commitment from institutions."

Yet even with pressure, some institutions, such as Wilson's own University of Chicago, have dragged their heels on hiring, admitting or promoting blacks. With the winds blowing the other way, Wilson does acknowledge that affirmative action gains may well slow down.

There are several signs that affirmative action, though established in legal principle, may soon be weakened. Already publications oriented toward business executives hint that companies may become less aggressive in pushing existing affirmative action or in starting new plans.

Even before the court decision, on June 13 Congress tacked on an amendment to the Health, Education and Welfare-Labor Departments' appropriations bill that would prohibit spending federal money to enforce any specific ratio, quota or numerical equivalent connected with race

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Bakke's real competitors were white

By Joel Dreyfuss

THE CASE THAT WAS BILLED as the greatest confrontation between the rights of whites and minorities in 25 years flopped as a landmark decision because, ironically, it failed to address some crucial issues that have nothing at all to do with race.

The most unfortunate consequence of the Supreme Court's decision ordering Allan Bakke admitted to the medical school of the University of California at Davis is the reinforcement of the fear among many whites that affirmative action is cutting into their opportunities for advancement. The truth is that for every Allan Bakke viewed as a victim of special admissions there are 20 other whites who are excluded from medical schools simply because there is not enough room for applicants of any color.

In virtually every desirable job category today the overwhelming majority of job-holders are white. (In areas where these positions have decision-making powers, the job-holder is extremely likely to be both white and male.)

If there were no minorities at all in the U.S., an exploding population of young, educated whites would still present a serious national crisis. Most minorities are so far from competing with whites for available opportunities that they are hardly a factor in the distribution of limited opportunities.

All the talk about "quotas," "affirmative action" and the "meritocracy" has created a misleading image of the impact of minorities on the professional job market. In medical schools, 92 out of every 100 students are white. Ninety-five of every 100 law students in the country are white.

In 1976 more than 42,000 persons applied for 15,700 places in medical schools. Less than 1,300 of those accepted were from minority groups. Even if no minorities were accepted there would still be 26,000 whites, most of them qualified to become doctors, who would have their life-long dreams cut short by the sheer weight of competition from other whites.

At the university of California's Boalt Hall Law School, for example, 3,549 persons applied for 293 places in the first-year class of 1976. Again, if there were no minorities at all in the applicant pool, more than 3,000 well-qualified candidates would have been turned away.

(The most profound change that has taken place in the battle for places in graduate and professional schools involves sex, not race. In 1959 only 6 percent of first-year medical students were women. In 1976 they constituted nearly a quarter of the entering class.)

The cause for all this jostling is the post WWII baby boom. The U.S. Census Bureau estimates that there are 58 million people in the "prime" 25 to 44 age category. By 1990 this age group will number 60.5 million. "Competition will be intense and

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Class is still the key to admissions

By Martin Brown

THE BAKKE CASE—FINALLY resolved by the Supreme Court after four years of litigation—has not addressed other deeper questions about who can enter the world of American medicine.

Recent studies conducted at several universities show that medical admissions procedures:

- Favor the children of the wealthy.
- Discriminate against rural Americans, ethnic minorities and women.
- Fail to predict the success of medical students.

Most notable is a new study undertaken at Harvard University's Department of Education by Grace Ziem. Examining the composition of medical school students in American universities between 1961 and 1973, Dr. Ziem found that despite some gains by women and blacks, the percentage of students from low-income families did not change.

The number of students from families with incomes below the national median (or middle point) remained frozen at 12 percent for each year—the same percentage it has been since 1920. In short, Ziem found that when women, blacks and other minorities do make it into medical school, they are usually from upper-income families—just like the white male students who form the majority of admissions.

John Garcia, professor of psychology and psychiatry at the University of California at Los Angeles, says he believes that the Bakke case should force medical school administrators to take a hard look at their admissions standards.

"Obsessed with objective quantification, admissions people assign a number or several numbers to each applicant; then, realizing that these numbers are essentially meaningless when applied to complex human beings, they set up special procedures to admit obviously competent minority applicants with low numbers. Thus they set the stage for legal action, such as the Bakke case," Garcia says.

"Bakke has been described as a victim of 'reverse discrimination.' It is more accurate to say that he sued to force the university to return to its archaic discriminatory standards of admission," Garcia adds.

Buttressing Garcia's complaints are the conclusions of N.S. Cole, a research psychologist at the American College Testing Program, and J.M. Richards Jr., a professor of psychology at the University of Missouri. After a study of the Medical College Admissions Test (MCAT), Cole and Richards found that two out of

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Seth Derish

SECRET POLICE

Alleged SAVAK agents face charges

By Seth Derish

CHICO, CALIF.

TWO FORMER IRANIAN STUDENTS believed to be connected to the Iranian secret police, SAVAK, are facing unprecedented charges for an attack on Iranian dissidents at the state university here.

Abolfazi "Kyu" Ghamsari and Behdad Bahmanou are now on trial in Oroville, the Butte County seat, charged with conspiracy to commit murder, assault with a deadly weapon and filing a false police report.

The charges stem from an incident Jan. 10, in which Ghamsari allegedly led a local Iranian activist, Abdullah Malekoshorai, into a trap at a student apartment complex in which Bahmanou fired five shots at him.

Bahmanou and Ghamsari, however, subsequently filed a police report claiming that five Iranian males had attacked Ghamsari and that Bahmanou had come to his defense.

"I feared he [Ghamsari] would be killed," Bahmanou told police, "so I shot four or five times in the air to scare them off. And it worked."

Police investigated the matter and found four uninvolved witnesses who stated that Bahmanou had fired directly at Malekoshorai. Three days later Ghamsari and Bahmanou were charged.

Ghamsari and Bahmanou were released three days after their arrest in lieu of \$20,000 bond each on their own recognizance.

The 38-year-old Ghamsari has been in the U.S. for almost eight years. Non-Iranian sources have indicated that he is the local "conduit" for bringing money into the community to promote the government of the Shah of Iran. Ghamsari, according to one source, arranged to send Iranian students to the pro-Shah demonstration held at the White House last Nov. 15.

The Iranian Student Association claims that Ghamsari also spies on them and turns the information over to SAVAK.

Both Ghamsari and Bahmanou, who had not been connected to SAVAK prior to the shooting, deny any connection to the secret police force.

The district attorney's idea of a quiet trial failed when Iranian students from throughout the state demonstrated May 12 at the duo's arraignment. Likewise, the first day of the trial on June 26 found a demonstration by 75 Iranian students and a packed courtroom of prospective jurors and spectators.

Judge Lucian B. Vandergrift became upset by the bullhorn-carrying Iranians outside his courtroom and told spectators, "Our system wants to be fair with everyone. Your activities can only promote a mistrial." He said that the Iranians outside "don't understand the American way" and that their actions would leave a "distasteful" image of Iranians and Iran.

The judge called an early recess and or-

dered sheriffs to quiet the disturbance. The Iranians dispersed when confronted by baton carrying police but later returned to resume demonstrations, this time without their bullhorns.

District Attorney Leo Steidlmyer is having trouble with astutely conservative Judge Vandergrift. On two separate occasions Steidlmyer has been threatened with contempt of court by Vandergrift.

The DA is worried that the demonstrations and presence of ISA members in the courtroom is hurting his prosecution. One member of the jury was in the Air Force 30 years and visited Iran for 95 days at the invitation of the Iranian government.

Defense lawyers for Ghamsari and Bahmanou have attempted to portray the ISA as subversive and "un-American." They have asked Malekoshorai about his studies in Seattle—especially if he took classes in "Marxism" and continually prod him into making political speeches.

The DA objected to this line of ques-



Mark Tholman

Top: Abolfazi Ghamsari (on right), accused of being an agent of the Iranian secret police, with his lawyer at his May 12 arraignment. Above: Anti-Shah protestors at the opening of the trial June 26.

tioning, but was overruled by the judge.

The defense attorneys are also trying to pry into the inner workings of the ISA and its parent organization, the Federation of Iranian Students U.S. (FISUS). On one occasion they had a witness identify ISA members in the audience by name and asked if they belonged to FISUS. The witness gave only their first names and would not say if they belonged to FISUS.

Defense attorneys have subpoenaed a

film from a local TV station of the May 12 demonstration to see Malekoshorai's involvement in it. Iranian activists, however, are fearful that their faces might be identified by the Iranian government through the film. If they are connected with anti-Shah organizations they can face from three to 15 years in prison if they return.

Seth Derish is a free-lance writer in Chico, Calif.

CITIES

Killing of black leader arouses N.Y.

By Josh Martin

NEW YORK CITY

ON JUNE 14, 1978, A LEADER of the black community in Brooklyn's Crown Heights area was killed during a confrontation with police, an incident that threatens to spark the beginning of a long, hot summer.

The death of Arthur Miller, a 35-year-old contractor, is but one of several unexplained deaths of blacks at the hands of New York City's finest. Past deaths prompted accusations by blacks and liberals of police brutality. But protests were scattered and short-lived. Miller's death, however, has unified various interests in the city that are now raising serious questions about the role and record of the police as impartial guardians of public safety.

The facts of the case in point, so far as they are known, run roughly as follows:

Arthur Miller got into a dispute with police who were trying to arrest his younger brother Sam for littering and unlicensed operation of a car. Although Sam had a record of several license suspensions, he told Arthur that the police had no right to arrest him. "I'm not going," he is reported to have said to Arthur as cops came forward to arrest him. "I've paid these summonses."

Arthur stood by Sam and questioned the action of the arresting officers. The questions and answers soon became a heated argument, and one of the four policemen present called for reinforcements. Eleven more police officers showed up. It was 15 to two.

No one has conclusively established how the violence broke out, or what were

the exact circumstances of Miller's death. These things will probably never be known. Nine of the 15 police involved have refused to comment on their role in the murder. And New York City's Chief Medical Examiner Michael Baden has said that there is no way to tell whether a forearm or a cop's night stick caused the com-

The death of Arthur Miller is but one of a series of deaths at the hands of police.

pression wound (i.e., strangulation) that killed Miller.

Squeeze on Koch.

The Miller case raises thorny legal and political questions. First and foremost, the case puts the squeeze on Mayor Ed Koch, whose promise to put blacks in responsible positions in his administration, made repeatedly during last year's election, has for the most part been unredeemed. Koch must decide whether to support the police department, or, by bucking it in the interests of justice, to incur the wrath of conservative elements that backed him last year (in part on the basis of his law-and-order style support of the death penalty).

Secondly, there is the question of meting out punishment to fit the crime. Three weeks after a black man was killed (indirectly) for littering and license violations, under conditions implicating 15 policemen in his murder, police sources state that "no disciplinary action has

been taken against any police officer at this point."

Police Chief Robert McGuire did, however, order an investigation into the police role in Miller's death, charging Inspectional Services Bureau Chief John Guido (among others) with responsibility to also look into "allegations of corruption" stemming from the case.

This last order carried with it the implication that police may have been taking payoffs or asking favors, presumably from Miller.

Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold began presenting evidence to a grand jury July 3, but many in the community are skeptical that the outcome will be anything but a whitewash of police activities. They argue that the large number of witnesses (40) and experts called to testify doesn't guarantee a full-scale investigation that produces meaningful results.

However, Gold, in an unusual move to ease tensions of the frustrated black public, has said he would seek a Supreme Court ruling to permit release of the grand jury minutes to the public—solving one dilemma while creating another.

"I'd like the community to feel that everything we could do has been done," Gold told reporters. But in the process of doing this, the district attorney may be sabotaging the cause of justice, for any indicted officer could easily and successfully plead that his right to a fair trial was compromised by such publicity.

Community leader.

There is further irony in Miller's death. A business man as well as a community leader, he was about to celebrate the rebirth of his neighborhood, whose main shop-

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IN THE WORLD

LEBANON

Rightist massacre may spark new war

By Our Correspondent

What had begun in mid-June as a battle between two right-wing Christian organizations has threatened to erupt into full-scale war, with more than 100 killed in Beirut in fighting between the Kataeb party and the predominantly Syrian Arab Deterrent Force. But what was the relation between the two earlier intraright battles at Ehden and Baalbeck and the fighting in Beirut? In the following analysis of the Ehden massacre, a veteran Middle East correspondent suggests an answer.

FIFTY THOUSAND PEOPLE ATTENDED the funeral of the more than 20 persons—including Tony Franjeh, son of former president Sulaiman Franjeh, his wife and three-year-old daughter—massacred in Ehden in north Lebanon in mid-June by the Kataeb (Phalangists) party's elite and most disciplined troops, the SKS.

Muslims and Christians came from all parts of Lebanon not to pay tribute to the dead scion of the Franjeh clan, an undistinguished and corrupt politician, but to make plain their revulsion over the barbaric crime (the bodies, including that of the child, were riddled with bullets and mutilated) and their rejection of the Kataeb drive to dominate all Christian Lebanon.

Apparently stunned by what even they called "the earthquake" of popular reaction, Kataeb leaders claimed their troops acted without their authorization. But the assault on Ehden came only hours after the Kataeb politbureau met to decide on a plan to deal with the situation in the north; the operation involved 600-800 men, use of heavy artillery, etc., and could not have been executed without the knowledge and consent of Bashir Gemayel, chief of the Kataeb's Military Council, as well as of the United Forces of the Lebanese Front.

The massacre was timed to coincide with Israel's handover of the "security belt" that it established inside Lebanon to the rightist Christian forces in the South rather than to the UN. These forces are composed of some 500 "regulars" of the old Lebanese army and 2,000 or more Kataeb, Chamounist, and other militiamen and have been under the command of Major Saad Haddad of the old Lebanese army. They are allied with Israel, which for over two years has organized, trained and armed them. In handing over the "security belt" to them, Israel made clear it wanted to maintain *de facto* control of south Lebanon.

When the Lebanese government ordered these forces to allow the UN troops to enter the region, Haddad and the "regulars" indicated they would comply. (The Lebanese government has continued to pay the salaries of the "regulars" even though under Lebanese law any trafficking with the Israeli enemy is treason.) But the militiamen refused to allow UN troops to enter.

The day after the Ehden massacre, Bashir Gemayel publicly applauded their defiance, thus underscoring the link between developments in the north and south and confirming a Kataeb plan to establish a Christian Lebanon, stretching from north to south, dominated by the Kataeb and inevitably dependent on the Israelis.

Clashes with Syrians.

The Ehden massacre climaxed a succession of armed clashes and assassinations involving constituent organizations of the Catholic Maronite, far rightist Lebanese Front. The Front's three pillars are the Kataeb, former president Camille Chamoun's National Liberal Party (NLP) and until a



The Kataeb party wants to rule Lebanon. As a first step, it must defeat rival Christian factions and drive out the Syrians.

few months ago the Zghorta-based clan headed by ex-president Franjeh. The Chamoun and Franjeh organizations are feudal groupings around a *zaim* (feudal lord and military protector). Although also a clan party dominated by the Gemayel family, the Kataeb is at the same time the largest and most structured Lebanese political party. Wealthy financiers, businessmen, lawyers, university professors and students constitute the party elite; lower middle class people, workers, small struggling farmers of Mountain Lebanon, the "Mountain Boys," provide the bulk of its storm troopers, the base.

The Lebanese Front claims to represent all Christians. It doesn't, but through its military muscle it has frightened any Christian opposition into silence. Its military forces, even the Kataeb's military forces alone, far exceed the government's.

The new army-information was supposed to be built on an equitable balance among the sects, but the Front has succeeded in staffing it from top to bottom with its own adherents and sympathizers. The largely Syrian Arab Deterrent Forces (ADF) remain the government's only recourse, but since the start of the year the Kataeb and the NLP have been engaged in a policy of provoking the Syrians, risking ever more dangerous confrontations to try to force the withdrawal of Syrian troops. After heavy clashes with Syrian troops in February and April, the Front took over security duties in large parts of the Christian zone from which, with Syria's agreement, the ADF was virtually excluded.

During and since the civil war the Front has built its own administration in the Christian zone, a fact underlined by its regular monthly collection of protec-

tion money from residents. Penalty for non-payment has been a car, home, shop or office blown up and sometimes worse.

Once the Lebanese Front assumed responsibility for law and order, Christian smugglers and racketeers operated unchecked. Quarrels among gangs of freebooters, usually attached to one or another of the rightist parties, produced some of the gun battles and bombings that have occurred with growing frequency in Christian areas. Bigger and fiercer battles pitted Maronite rightist parties against each other. In a clash in May, the Kataeb levelled to the ground the NLP party headquarters in East Beirut. Such battles usually close schools, shops and businesses and send residents to their cellars.

The rift between former president Franjeh and the Front developed over a number of issues. He opposed the "protection money" racket. Cynics said it was because he did not get his cut. Others noted that the modern American gangster-type operations of the Kataeb and the NLP violated deeply rooted traditions of political feudalism, which take seriously the *zaim's* responsibility to his clientele.

Always friendly to Syria and an old personal friend of Syrian President Assad, Franjeh also strongly objected to the Kataeb-NLP efforts to force Syrian withdrawal. He opposed the Kataeb-NLP alliance with Israel, refusing to have anything to do with it. And he could not countenance the Kataeb drive—in its own words—"to replace feudalism in the north with a party regime," that is, to extend Kataeb domination over Franjeh's domain.

Members of the U.S. peacekeeping force move in on the heels of Israeli troop withdrawals. According to the U.S., the Israelis turned over 14 positions to the UN, but left 20 for the Christian right.

The Kataeb drive into the north began during the civil war when it conquered the largely Greek Orthodox district of Kura, just below Zghorta, and "cleaned out" this longtime stronghold of the progressive Syrian Social National Party (SSNP). After the war the Kataeb moved into other northern villages and towns beginning with Basharri near Zghorta in the hope of exploiting traditional Basharri-Zghorta rivalry. (This proved to be a miscalculation: after the Ehden massacre Basharri stood with Zghorta.)

This Kataeb infiltration coupled with Franjeh's warnings that he would quit the Front if it opted for confrontation with Syria provoked the formation of a new political force. The Coalition of Maronite Deputies which included a third of the Maronites in parliament, has as its stated aim speeding national reconciliation and supporting legality as represented by President Sarkis. Its emergence suggested substantial discontent among Maronites with the hardline and provocative policies of the Lebanese Front, although the group was careful to point out that it did not oppose the Lebanese or any other Front.

The Franjeh-Kataeb dispute took a violent turn early in May when a bomb planted in a car parked in the center of Zghorta exploded wounding 40 people. This declaration of war was followed by a Syrian-arranged reconciliation between Franjeh and Rashid Karame, Sunni political boss of Tripoli and former Prime Minister, and by reports of a possible reconciliation between Franjeh and Abdullah Saade, SSNP leader and native of Kura. For the Kataeb this was treachery, a defection from the Front demanding the most severe punishment lest other defections follow.

Although Franjeh himself was hospitalized with a minor heart attack, the Kataeb and the Franjeh clan were soon in-

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CUBA

Childhood exile becomes Castro fan

By Max Gordon

THE LAST TIME I WENT TO Cuba, the group organizer was a young Washington-based travel agent named Alex who was himself Cuban-born. He had been shipped out by his parents in 1962 at age 11 with a large name tag pinned to his clothes, to be picked up by a Catholic refugee society in Miami. A few thousand children had been sent out in this fashion, Alex estimated; Catholic church-inspired rumors had it that the Revolution was going to take the children away from their parents. Many parents left with their children, or sent them to relatives and friends abroad.

Alex spent two years in a miserable, disease-ridden camp in the Everglades with little schooling, and two more years in a foster home. At that point he was joined by his parents. They had left Cuba reluctantly, he told me, but he was their only child and they believed—perhaps mistakenly, Alex opined—that he could not return.

Late in 1976 he learned that he could visit his homeland, and in November made his first trip. What he found—generally and among his relatives—made him an enthusiast of the Castro regime. A formerly ne'er-do-well uncle was now a responsible official of the food distribution apparatus, and his children were receiving a first-rate education. Among other things, he was struck by the apparent elimination of racism and the invisibility of any repressive apparatus, even police. The atmosphere, he found, was marked by relaxation and camaraderie. In Batista's day, he recalled, the armed forces were everywhere, and tension and fear were pervasive.

"I feel now as if I belong to two countries, both of which I love," he said. "I want to do all I can to bring down the barriers separating them." He was especially anxious to assist in reuniting families.

Exile trip.

He has contributed markedly in this direction. This past December, 55 young people—all Cuban-born and all taken out as children not long after the Revolution—returned for a 23-day trip, which Alex was instrumental in organizing. They were the first group of post-revolutionary exiles to go back and were greeted dramatically by the Cubans, including Castro who spent several hours with them in give-and-take discussion which astonished them.

The group was restricted to those who had left between the ages of two and 18, hence presumably not voluntary departees. The one political requirement was at least an open mind regarding the Revolution. A few were strongly socialist-minded, most were sympathetic to the new Cuba but not especially committed, and some were simply open-minded. They came mainly from upper and middle-class families, and from New York and Florida, but also from other states, Mexico, Puerto Rico and one from Spain.

The group's make-up, the time they spent with family and in a work group, precludes a charge that they were only shown "the good side." What, then, did the group find? I interviewed a pair of siblings—Armando and Ana Maria Garcia—as attractive and sharp a couple of young people as I've ever met. The church-inspired rumors had led their mother to flee with them late in 1960; Armando was 11, Ana Maria 7. The father, a businessman, had remained behind confident that Castro would not last long. After the Bay of Pigs, he joined his family. After a year in Tampa, they lived for a decade in Puerto Rico. The anti-Vietnam war campaign had introduced the children to social struggles, and they then became associated with a Cuban socialist youth group based in the U.S.

"Everyone was transformed by the trip," they told me. "The main thing is



A family reunion in Santiago between an exile and the relatives she had not seen for 22 years.

the way the people work in unity. They are so optimistic, so sure of themselves. They seem to feel that they have such strength, and are so inspired, that they can do anything. They have such a sense of power because they feel themselves so much a part of the society and contribute to its direction. Everybody talks in terms of 'we' built this new factory, 'we' did this and that, and they always put their activity in a social context: 'I do this or study that to help build the country.' This

is even true of the kids whose maturity is impressive."

The Garcias were impressed, too, by the intense popular participation in the planning process. Each work center has its plan which is reviewed monthly by the workers' assembly, freely criticized and often revised—in the main, upward. Workers described to them in detail not only the operations of their own work center, but how these fitted into the entire economy. They have "a total sense of

their part in the economic process," of their influence on that process, and this gives them the feeling that it is theirs.

Cultural activities.

While the workers' assembly discusses collectively problems of production, the union shop organization sees to working conditions. "Part of every shop committee is responsible for safety and health in coordination with the administration,"

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MIDDLE EAST

Poor get poorer in Sadat's Egypt

By T.D. Allman

CAIRO, EGYPT

THE TRAFFIC JAM ON THE CORNICH—once an elegant boulevard beside the River Nile—was typical of the paralysis persisting from early morning to late night that has come to afflict the capital of Egypt since President Anwar Sadat began a program to "liberalize" this country's creaking economy.

Amid the potholes an aging bus packed with more than 200 Egyptians stood motionless, mired like a camel struggling in quicksand. The bus was entrapped by a honking horde of new air-conditioned, chauffeured limousines carrying single passengers.

Cairo's traffic jams may afflict the high and low in Egyptian society equally these days, but that is about the only result of President Sadat's economic policy that does. Elsewhere there is an increasing separation. The poor continue to grow poorer as the pressure of population growth outstrips the capacity of the narrow Nile valley to feed them. But the rich are growing richer in a highly visible way under Sadat's economic policy.

"Second revolution."

It was very different under his predecessor, Gamel Abdel Nasser. The privileged classes—especially big landowners and businessmen—were a persecuted elite. State economic policy emphasized bread for the poor, not new automobiles for the rich. While Nasser failed to revolutionize Egypt's often feudal economy, mil-

lions of peasants were given land, and massive housing developments were built for the urban poor.

Since Sadat succeeded Nasser in 1971 and launched what he terms Egypt's "second revolution," the priorities have been almost reversed. New highways plough through Cairo slums while plans for a mass transit system gather dust. Luxury

In the first of two parts, T.D. Allman exposes the seamy side of Egypt's "second revolution."

apartments rise on sites once slated for state-owned factories. Every night opulently gowned Egyptian women, escorted by husbands in tuxedos, crowd Cairo's sumptuous new hotels. Open parkland along the Nile is being steadily eroded by private clubs, discotheques and "casinos"—outdoor restaurants where those with the money to pay drink Egyptian wines served by white-coated waiters under the cool night sky.

These lands, under the Egyptian constitution, officially belong to "the people." But even still undeveloped parks are now often sealed off by barbed wire, awaiting development by speculators who have won leases on them.

Economic liberalization has been a dream come true for affluent Egyptians, but it is more like a nightmare for the

poor. Government subsidies that once assured stable prices for such essential commodities as bread and cooking oil are being steadily removed. For most Egyptians, life today is more difficult than ever before. These growing privations early last year led to the worst riots in Cairo in a quarter of a century.

While the country is calmer today, the conspicuous consumption of a rich minority provides a constant contrast to Egypt's prevailing poverty. The growing inequality of wealth is part of what Sadat calls his effort to make Egypt "cross the Canal" economically, just as the country five years ago went on the offensive against Israel and crossed the Suez Canal militarily. Sadat argues that if Egypt is to gain ground economically, it must create new incentives for the production of wealth.

Special relation with U.S.

Key economic indicators, however, show that Egypt still misuses what meager resources it has. In several recent years, the value of agricultural production—the backbone of the economy—declined, while industrial production showed little or no growth. The country's balance of payments is one of the most alarming in the world. Foreign debt is soaring; foreign investment remains insignificant. Government expenditures under Sadat often exceed government revenues by 50 percent. Last year imports exceeded exports by 400 percent.

The new affluence is not coming from increased production. It is financed by

Continued on page 18.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Black leader warns of Vorster plan to keep white rule

By David Moberg

CAN SOUTH AFRICA'S WHITES hold on to their power in the face of spreading black revolt? Much depends on how the American people respond to the U.S. government's involvement in a sophisticated, long-term strategy that has already been drawn up, according to I.B. Tabata, the 69-year-old exiled leader of one of the country's oldest anti-apartheid organizations.

Tabata, who is currently touring the U.S., appears careful, deliberate, almost scholarly. Yet there is clearly a passion present that has sustained his political activity since the 1930s, despite banishment and isolation. When he came to Pretoria for an education in the Depression era, he became embroiled in leftist, intellectual cafe life. He also became involved in the fight against the white government's stripping of the vote and other democratic rights from the black majority.

Ever since, Tabata has been a leading figure in the resistance to apartheid, most notably as president of the Unity Movement of South Africa, a multiracial organization that he helped found in 1943. Having fought against any participation in the apartheid institutions, he is now opposing what he foresees as the next step in the evolution of that separatist, racist tradition.

White stabilization strategy.

Tabata believes that the U.S., Britain and other western powers will work with South Africa's white rulers in the next few years to push a supposedly peaceful solution to South Africa's problems that will give blacks the appearance of independence and equality but continue to subjugate them to white political and economic power. Because of the worldwide division of "spheres of influence" stemming from the detente between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, he doubts that either the Soviet Union or its allies in Africa will directly challenge this strategy to stabilize white rule.

After Namibia and Zimbabwe—Southwest Africa and Rhodesia—are under independent black governments, the U.S. will pressure South African Prime Minister John Vorster to make concessions to blacks. "Vorster will ultimately agree to a roundtable conference with blacks, freedom fighters, but on the basis of the policy of the bantustans," Tabata says. The bantustans, or "homelands," are small, generally impoverished tracts of land that have been set aside for black rule. Of the ten, two have already been made independent, but the U.S. and other powers have refused to recognize them as sovereign political entities.

"Vorster will give the ten bantustans what he calls the power to rule themselves," Tabata says. "Then he will add the colored stans and the Indian stans which are urban. Then he will say, 'Let us form a federation of all these stans, including the white stan, which is South Africa. They will have at the talk a council which represents this federation, but it will be a parliament dangling in the air, because it will not be allowed to interfere in the internal matters of each so-called state. If they allowed that, it would mean that some black people who belong to these stans would have a say in the matters of white South Africa, which they will never allow.'"

The nine to ten million blacks, crowded into 13 percent of the country's land, would not be able to support themselves without working in the mines, farms and factories of the four million whites living

I.B. Tabata, the founder of South Africa's oldest anti-apartheid group, warns that South African premier John Vorster will get American support and Soviet silence for his new plan.

on the rest and richest of the land. The bantustans would be labor reservoirs, supplying the much-needed muscle for the South African enterprises that have recently lost their ability to recruit labor from some neighboring African countries.

In some ways, the picture Tabata draws for South Africa is far worse than the current negotiated agreement in Rhodesia since "we would not even reach the neo-colonialist level" of having blacks share power but serve white interests.

Since this plan will appear to be a peaceful solution, Tabata believes that countries throughout the world, including the full range of African states, will feel pressure to accept it in order to avoid armed conflict and bloodshed in South Africa. Even the Soviet Union will not protest, Tabata says, because it has traded recognition by the capitalist powers of its control in eastern Europe for acknowledgement that South Africa is "part of Western Europe on another continent." With "cosmetizing," the defects of the bantustan policy would eventually be less blatant and more palatable to world opinion, he argues.

Despite his criticism of the role of the Soviet Union, however, Tabata rejects the Chinese denunciation of the USSR as an imperialist power in Africa. Likewise, he scoffs at the argument—made elaborately in the current issue of *Fortune*—that the U.S. multinationals exercise a liberalizing influence on the Vorster government.

The two streams.

Tabata sees hope in the still-disorganized insurgency symbolized by Soweto and the "black power" movement, despite his criticisms of their ideology. But in order to maintain their thrust forward, he says, these new movements must be guaranteed the right of "independent action," that is "the freedom fighters must feel that they are not forced into these negotiations."

Tabata hopes to organize U.S. committees that will "ensure when the chips come down that not a single soldier will come to fight on the side of the South African government, either officially or as mercenaries." These committees would also oppose any loans to the South African government or businesses and press for multinationals to withdraw from the country.

The strategy is a continuation of the principles first established by the Unity Movement when it was formed in 1943 as the "Non-European Unity Movement," uniting for the first time African blacks, colored and Indians, all of whom were progressively suffering more from the hardening policies of apartheid. The Unity Movement drew up a program demanding ten basic democratic rights for all and adhered to a strict policy of "non-collaboration with the oppressor."

The African National Congress, the



I.B. Tabata is the 69-year-old leader of the Unity Movement of South Africa, the country's oldest anti-apartheid organization.

oldest and best known black organization, broke away from the Unity Movement and participated in the elections for the apartheid advisory boards. But the work of the Unity Movement, a coalition of ethnic, professional and other organizations, contributed to the downfall of the first set of apartheid bodies and helped to catalyze the formation of peasant organizations throughout the country.

The Unity Movement came under increasing attack. In the 1960s the organization, its leaders and its literature were all banned, breaking the continuity in one of what Tabata calls the "two streams" of the black freedom movement—collaboration and non-collaboration. Although many of the organizations linked through the Unity Movement and the peasant associations have continued, with apparently greater strength in the rural areas where there have been little-reported peasant revolts on a regular basis, the impact of the Unity Movement itself seems to have declined, judging from Tabata's description.

However, Tabata sees his group's traditions living in the Soweto rebellion, just as he regards the bantustan policy and the possible South African federation of the future as the consequences of the participation in apartheid institutions characterized by the other "stream."

Soweto a vindication.

"Soweto today is a vindication of that other stream of non-collaboration," he says. "You only have to read up what the young boys say, years after the organizations were banned, the leaders were banned, the literature was banned. These youngsters grew up almost in a political vacuum. They were educated with the pol-

itical knowledge that they draw from the atmosphere and what they suck from their mothers' milk. In the process they also came into contact with the American black movement. Yet this 'black consciousness'—which is American in origin—does not suit the soil of South Africa, because the struggle is different. In South Africa the blacks are the majority by far, and their struggle is not for reform but for power, for a return of a country which is theirs."

As they begin the inevitable task of building organizations and forming political programs, Tabata is convinced, the younger black power advocates will adopt a broad platform of democratic rights, like that of the Unity Movement. Moreover, he believes that the developing independent struggle opposed to the homelands policy will soon come to raise the political questions for South Africa not only in terms of democratic rights but of "capitalism versus socialism, a question of revolution."

Now living in Zambia with Jane Gool, his wife and comrade in the Unity Movement leadership since the founding of the organization, Tabata continues to write and to organize, encouraged by what he views as the current "pre-revolutionary situation" in South Africa that will come to a head within the next decade.

"When we came into the struggle we found the people lying prostrate," he said with confidence and some satisfaction at the end of our conversation. "Not that they hadn't fought before. But the defeats had led to stagnation. We came in during the lull of the 1930s and we watched the people rise up slowly to stand up and now they look at the other man eyeball to eyeball."

THE MAN WHO WAS EDITOR OF THE *Nation* for over 20 years—Carey McWilliams—spent almost three months of this year in New York University hospital, where he underwent a series of operations for a tumor, which fortunately proved benign. While McWilliams was in the hospital, it was announced that he would receive a special George Polk award as “an exemplar of integrity throughout his long career”—the same award that I.F. Stone received a few years earlier.

I visited McWilliams in March at his apartment on Manhattan’s upper West Side, across the street from Columbia University. He had just returned from the hospital, but he was able to walk and met me at the door.

At 72, McWilliams is a strong, robust-looking, somewhat dour Scotsman. At first glance, he looks serious—very much like a university professor or a lawyer (he does have a law degree and once practiced)—but he is, in fact, one of the most pleasant people I know.

We sat down to talk in his spacious living room, which his wife Iris, a sculptress and novelist, has furnished with well-chosen art. The apartment is filled with thousands of books, which line the walls of the dining room, the hallway, and the study. Because he was still recovering from the operations, he had to place his feet on the coffee table, which was littered with magazines.

I began our talk by mentioning that I had just read McWilliams’ book review in the current issue of the *Nation*—a review of a scholarly book on Cold War politics that documents how American liberals caved into McCarthyism and failed to defend the civil liberties of left-wing activists in unions, Hollywood and in Washington. I also told McWilliams about Izzy Stone’s birthday party the previous night and how Cold War liberals such as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. had attended (*ITT*, June 17).

McWilliams chuckled.

“Every Establishment has to have a dissenter and Izzy has been annointed.”

“Schlesinger has tried to do a turn, a

A True Homegrown Radical

By Derek Shearer

real turn, since the CIA disclosures, and all that’s known about the Bay of Pigs and his role in that, sitting there feeding Kennedy suggested alternative scenarios—all the rest of it. He was caught with his trousers down, and he’s now trying to offset that. They all are. They’re all running for cover. You know, in those days Schlesinger spoke the language of McCarthyism with a Harvard accent.”

McWilliams recalled that in the 1950s he helped to establish the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, when the ACLU refused to defend the rights of some leftwingers. He remembers that Arthur Schlesinger Jr., in his newspaper column, labeled the group as “doe-faced, typhoid Marys of the Left.”

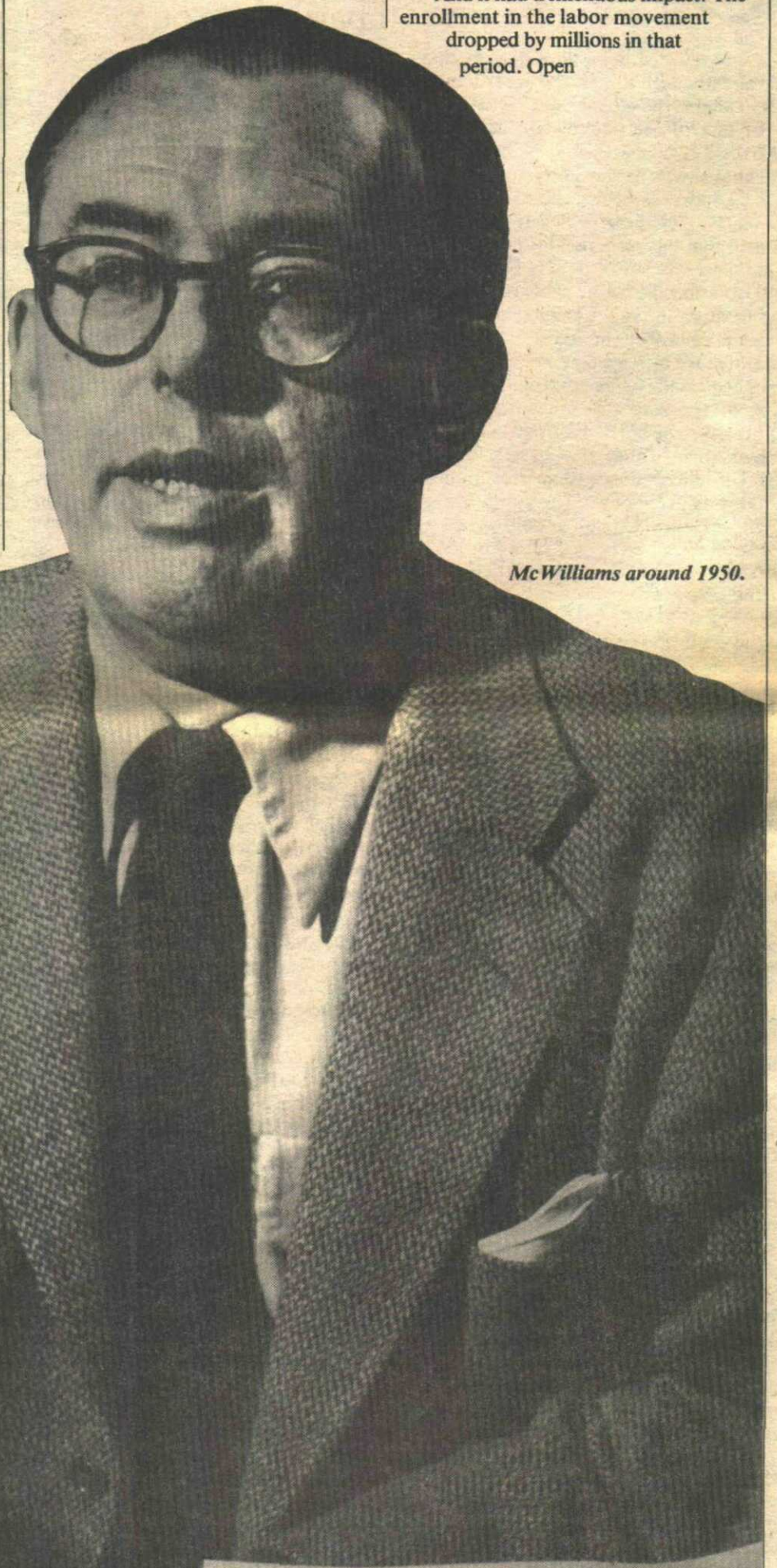
“You can account for McCarthyism by many theories, and there’s a bit of truth in all of them—but the fundamental explanation is that this country has never had, with one exception, anything you can call a socialist move-

ment. The exception is Eugene Debs, roughly the turn of the century to the world war. That was nativistic, populist socialist, and it was pretty good for what it was. It was killed in the war and never revived.

“As a consequence of this, we’ve never had a left, and without a left the whole political spectrum gets distorted. And not only that, it gives demagogues this incredible power to manipulate the fear of socialism, fear of the left, fear of communism.

“Now, take the situation after World War I. The fear of communism in this country was crazy. There was no real justification. There was the Russian Revolution, but there was no domestic threat here. Yet there was in 1919-1920 a great witch hunt, the Palmer raids, and it was triggered and supported by the government and by the Establishment.

“And it had tremendous impact. The enrollment in the labor movement dropped by millions in that period. Open



McWilliams around 1950.

shop movements swept from coast to coast. The labor movement didn't recover until 1935, with the passage of the National Labor Relations Act.

"And then after World War II, it happened all over again with the McCarthy period.

"Our economists discuss 'The Economy'; they discuss 'Business!' They never discuss Capitalism. They discuss the system as though it had no imperatives. And the reason they don't is because there's no socialist movement. A socialist movement, no matter how miniscule, would at least force attention to root causes. For instance, why do we have distortion in investment and all the rest of it? Because this system has got certain imperatives about it. But they're never discussed. That's the problem."

CAREY MCWILLIAMS IS NOT A trained Marxist ideologue. He's a native American radical, whose radicalism is rooted in his own experiences, not in theoretical study.

"I have to confess," McWilliams told me. "I've never really read Marx's *Das Kapital*. I never could get through it."

McWilliams was not a Red-diaper baby. His father Jerry McWilliams was a Colorado cattle rancher who amassed a small fortune and was elected to the state senate as a Wilsonian Democrat. (He was, in McWilliams' words, "Mr. Northwest Colorado.")

As a young boy, McWilliams hung out with the ranch hands. For no particular reason he can see, he read a great deal. As a teenager he would rush down to Denver to buy the latest copy of the magazine *Smart Set*, so he could read H. L. Mencken.

In the early '20s, the war-induced boom in cattle collapsed as beef from Argentina flooded the market. McWilliams' father went bankrupt overnight, and soon died.

McWilliams was kicked out of the University of Denver for getting drunk and being outrageous at a St. Patrick's Day party in 1922. Upon his father's death a year earlier, his mother had moved to Los Angeles to be near her brother, and McWilliams followed her there. After a series of odd jobs, on his uncle's advice he checked the employment listings at the YMCA and found an opening as a clerk in the credit department of the *Los Angeles Times*.

McWilliams decided to return to school and enrolled in the University of Southern California and after three years switched to the law school because its building was located downtown across the street from the *Times* where he worked fulltime. Sundays, to make extra money, he counted classified ad lineage for the paper.

Upon graduation, McWilliams joined an old line Los Angeles law firm, Black and Hammack, which represented major California corporations and rich widows. Neither partner liked to try cases and they gave young McWilliams immediate responsibility for courtroom appearances.

From 1927-1931, McWilliams was outwardly a successful young Establishment lawyer. He married Dorothy Hedrick, who came from an upper class family and whose father was provost of the University of California at Los Angeles. (McWilliams' son from this marriage, Wilson Carey McWilliams, is now a well-regarded professor of political science at Rutgers.)

But McWilliams also led an underground existence—a sort of Bohemian literary life. He read the *American Mercury*, and hung out with poets, book sellers, artists and writers in the backroom at Mucos's and Runk's restaurant in Hollywood. He did legal work on the side for his friends, helping them to open book stores and start literary magazines.

Bored with foreclosing mortgages and probating wills, McWilliams began to write and was published in the *Mercury*, the *New Republic*, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Los Angeles Times* and other publications. He wrote a book on Ambrose

The radicalism of Carey McWilliams comes out of his experience, not theoretical study, and is rooted in the indigenous American radical tradition. But it has served McWilliams well.

Bierce, the San Francisco journalist (author of the *Devil's Dictionary*), which was published in 1929 to excellent reviews. It is still in print.

Only with the social ferment of the '30s did McWilliams' Bohemianism slowly become political.

When the Wagner Act passed Congress in 1934, creating the National Labor Relations Board, there were few labor lawyers in Los Angeles—a violently anti-labor town. McWilliams studied up on the act and began taking labor cases. He was the first attorney for the American Newspaper Guild in Los Angeles, and represented them in their strike against the Hollywood *Citizen-News*. He was also friendly with the liberal judge who owned the paper.

"Judge Palmer was a liberal, a reformer, pious," said McWilliams. "The leader of the strike was a liberal, a religious reform kind of guy. He could've been Judge Palmer's son. And yet, here is Palmer who will have nothing to do with the union. It was crazy."

"I thought the three of us could get together and settle this thing. All the Guild wanted was recognition. The judge wouldn't recognize. It was a protracted, bitter strike, 26 or 27 contempt citations."

"I found it very disillusioning in terms of liberals and reformers. They were liberals and reformers up to the point that you got talking about labor."

McWilliams was one of the NLRB's first trial examiners in California. One of his first hearings involved the labor practices of the American Potash and Chemical Company. The board tried to have the hearing in the post office in Truma, near Death Valley, where the company's operations were, but the company owned the building and refused access. The hearing was moved to an American Legion hall in a town 30 miles away, but the Legion cancelled the arrangement under pressure from the company. So the hearing finally had to be held in Los Angeles.

It took three days of investigation to reveal that the company was actually a subsidiary of a Belgian mining firm with big holdings in the Congo.

"The case had great impact on me," noted McWilliams. "This was a form of arrogance I found hard to believe."

McWilliams also represented rank-and-file workers in the movie industry in their fight against a gangster-ridden company union that movie moguls like MGM's Louis Mayer supported.

The meeting that affected McWilliams most was a gathering of women workers from the Los Angeles Walnut Exchange.

"The spirit of the New Deal was in

that meeting," recalled McWilliams.

"I went out one very humid L.A. night to a hall on the east side of L.A., absolutely packed with women, all shapes, sizes, colors and nationalities. I told them what their rights were under the act. They began to talk about their grievances. For example, the place was not clean; there weren't enough hammers, and most of the cracking of the walnuts was done by hand. These women could hold up their hands and the whole underside of their fists would be black and bruised."

Other farm workers in California's lush agricultural valleys were trying to organize. Their efforts were met with violence from the growers and local police. McWilliams defended striking citrus workers and his interest in farm labor grew. It seemed to be "a hell of a story!" He began to travel around the state gathering material.

McWilliams' best source was the *Pacific Rural Press*, a growers' journal that was brutally frank about what was going on and what growers should do to combat labor organizers.

"It had incredible quotes," said McWilliams. "They would tell about the meetings of the agriculture committee of the state Chamber of Commerce, what was said and what was done, what the theory of it was."

MCWILLIAMS WROTE ARTICLES on the farm labor battles in California for the *Nation*, then pulled his material together in a book, *Factories in the Fields*, which was published in June 1939, two months after *The Grapes of Wrath* appeared. Although McWilliams did not know Steinbeck (and never met him), he was accused of being part of a conspiracy to defame California's farmers. The book became a best-seller.

In the fall of 1938 Culbert Olson, a liberal Democratic lawyer from Los Angeles, was elected governor of the state, running on a New Deal ticket. McWilliams had worked for Olson and the governor's advisers knew that McWilliams had completed a book on farm labor. Olson offered McWilliams the job of chief of the state's Division of Immigration and Housing.

The job ended McWilliams' law career. He was also separated from his wife and about to be divorced, not only from her, but from his old lifestyle. He was now a political person—a radical.

"The whole point of view began to

make a lot of sense to me," said McWilliams. "That this was a capitalist system. That it did have its own kind of logic. That it did require certain things. That the idea was to pay labor as little as possible. I became a Roosevelt New Dealer; in addition to that, I felt more had to be done."

Because of his efforts to improve living conditions for farm workers, the Associated Farmers of California, at their annual convention, voted McWilliams 'agricultural pest number one.'

In 1942 the Republican gubernatorial candidate Earl Warren promised that if elected, one of his first official acts would be to fire Carey McWilliams. Warren won, and McWilliams lost his job. He turned to writing books as a profession.

While writing, McWilliams also involved himself in politics. He supported the Democratic ticket in California in 1946, and wrote speeches for the Senatorial candidate, Will Rogers Jr., in 1946, and the candidate for Attorney General, Pat Brown. Beginning in 1945, he served as West Coast editor for the *Nation*.

"Everyone began to phone me," McWilliams said. "I was catapulted into a political situation I had never contemplated. I soon learned the *Nation* was in trouble—it was always in trouble—and I had to help out."

In the summer of 1946 McWilliams organized a fund-raising dinner for the magazine at the Ambassador Hotel. The event netted \$25,000. One of the program's speakers was a young liberal actor named Ronald Reagan.

McWilliams was a member of the Progressive Citizens of America—a network of New Deal and CIO activists around the country. However, he resigned when the organization voted to run Henry Wallace as a third party candidate.

"Wallace and the Progressive minimized the attachment of rank-and-file voters to the Democratic Party," McWilliams explained. "They were critical of Truman, but they didn't want to move out of the party; this was Roosevelt's party."

"When the Progressives went out on their own limb, they made targets of themselves, individually and as a group. It was a very serious mistake."

In December 1950 Freda Kirchway, editor of the *Nation*, persuaded McWilliams to come east for three weeks to edit a special issue on civil liberties. The three weeks stretched to almost 30 years.

McWilliams' editorial labors over three decades kept alive a magazine with a vital history.

The *Nation* was founded in 1867 by a wealthy abolitionist from Philadelphia and was run as a journal of social criticism. Its first editor was E.L. Godkin; later editors included Oswald Garrison Villard.

An 1867 editorial stated, "We treat our readers as grown up men and women who can bear to hear the truth." The magazine published the writings of Longfellow, Whittier, Henry and William James, William Dean Howells, and other literary figures.

In its over 100 years of existence the *Nation* has rarely had more than 25,000 subscribers and never carried much advertising. It is a serious-looking weekly, printed on inexpensive newsprint. It has always been a home for stories that others have refused to print. The magazine has rarely been self-sustaining, and usually has had to rely on wealthy benefactors.

McWilliams joined the *Nation* staff in New York at a particularly low point in its history. The magazine was under attack from both left and right. Financial backers and writers were fading away, and its future was in doubt.

"It was very exciting, very challenging, never a dull moment," remembered McWilliams. "Freda and I would meet on Monday morning to try to figure out how to meet Friday's payroll. We trimmed expenses. We had to lay off people. Once, when our credit was gone in New York, we were printed down South for a while on the presses of the *Southern Farmer* run by an old New Dealer."

Worn out from her years of work,

Freda Kirchway turned the magazine entirely over to McWilliams in 1955. McWilliams persuaded Harvard graduate George Kirstein, an heir to a clothing fortune, to take over as publisher and to cover the magazine's annual deficit.

With Kirstein watching the business side of things—a task later filled in the 1960s by Boston millionaire James Storrow—McWilliams set about editing a magazine that challenged Cold War America head-on.

McWilliams organized special issues on the FBI, the CIA, the military-industrial complex, and the radical right. These were largely written by Fred Cook, a former reporter on the New York *Telegram and Sun*, who turned the *Nation's* investigations into a series of muckraking books (*The FBI Nobody Knows*, *The Warfare State*, *The Corrupted Land*).

McWilliams ran Ralph Nader's first article on the auto industry, "The Safe Car You Can't Buy" (April 11, 1959), six years before Nader finished his book on General Motor's Corvair. Robert Sherill reported for the *Nation* from Washington, and Joseph Goulden exposed the inner workings of AT&T.

The *Nation* also ran cultural and sociological pieces. James Baldwin contributed pieces on race relations; Eve Merriam discussed sex prejudice. In 1965 Hunter Thompson, then an unknown free-lancer, wrote a piece at McWilliams' suggestion on the Hell's Angels, which led to a popular book and launched Thompson's career.

One of the most important articles the *Nation* ran was a piece warning against a possible American-supported invasion of Cuba, but the regular press did not pick up the story in time and the Bay of Pigs fiasco went ahead.

MCWILLIAMS' GREATEST ASSET as an editor—in addition to his almost boundless curiosity and tough social conscience—was his willingness to seek out and encourage young, unknown writers.

I published my first major piece in the *Nation* when I was 21, a year out of college. Most of McWilliams' books were in my father's library, but I had never read them. The *Nation* came to our house and in high school I read McWilliams' editorials and the special issues on the FBI and the military-industrial complex. Ralph Nader later told me that he read the *Nation* and thought that McWilliams' editorials were the best editorial writing in the country.

In the fall of 1969 I sent to the *Nation* a lengthy, unsolicited article on the Pentagon's public relations network. It was part of the work of a Nader-like student investigation of the national security apparatus that I had directed over the previous summer. McWilliams responded that the *Nation* had accepted my piece and that he would devote almost an entire issue to it. He invited me to New York to see him.

The *Nation* was housed in a dingy building on Sixth Avenue in Greenwich Village. McWilliams was once mugged and badly beaten in the elevator by two black youths. He was remarkably unbitter about the incident, and even wrote a good-natured editorial putting the incident in its proper social context.

McWilliams' office consisted of old wooden desks and tables piled with clippings, newspapers, and manuscripts. I remember how decently McWilliams treated me. He was not condescending, as most adults in his position are to young people, and he did not lecture me on journalism. He simply said how much he liked the piece, and that he'd like me to send in other pieces from time to time.

In the years that followed, whenever I had a controversial story idea, I did not hesitate to call McWilliams. In 1971 I attended, in a scholarly role, an off-the-record policy discussion with Henry Kissinger and a number of other business, government and media luminaries. During the meeting, a then-unknown researcher from the Rand Corporation



McWilliams today.

McWilliams' greatest asset was his ability to find new writers.

named Daniel Ellsberg engaged in a tense exchange with Kissinger over estimates of Asian casualties in Indochina.

I was outraged at Kissinger's secret invasions of Laos and Cambodia and at his cavalier dismissal of the questions raised by Ellsberg; I decided to write up the entire meeting and put Kissinger's remarks on the public record. The *Nation* ran the piece, called "An Evening with Henry," which also criticized the *Times*, the *Post* and other papers for attending similar "secret" background briefings being held by Kissinger with editors in other cities. I knew that only the *Nation* would run such a piece and that only McWilliams would back me up if there had been a counter-attack from Kissinger or the government.

In 1975, at the age of 70, McWilliams resigned as editor of the *Nation*. The

position was taken over briefly by Blair Clark Jr., formerly a liberal news executive at CBS who had supported Gene McCarthy for President. Recently, a group of wealthy liberals headed by Hamilton Fish Jr. purchased the *Nation* from publisher James Storrow, with plans to refurbish it. The new editor is liberal writer Victor Navasky, author of *Kennedy Justice* and other books. The new ownership group plans to give the magazine a new "look."

"I resigned at the right time," said McWilliams. "Whatever happens, it isn't the Cold War. That's over, it ended with Vietnam and Watergate. The great American bar-b-que—prosperity forever and more and more prosperity—is over. People sense the big to-do is over, because it was a by-product of the Cold War. A new period is coming."

Since his retirement from the *Nation*, McWilliams has written a new book, an autobiography of sorts, that he describes as "The Education of Carey McWilliams." Simon and Schuster will publish it in the fall or early next year. Judging from McWilliams' earlier works, the book may well be a classic like *The Education of Henry Adams* or *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*—books which capture an entire period in American history through one man's life.

McWilliams has plans to write at least two more books—another one on California, and possibly one on the economic basis of organized religion. He and his wife Iris still own a run-down home on three quarters of an acre in the Hollywood Hills section of Los Angeles. The home is an organic tie with California that McWilliams never cut. Their only son Jerry is a librarian in San Francisco, and they'd like to see him more often.

It would be fitting that they return to the state where McWilliams learned his politics from the sweat and struggle of working people—a democratic politics rooted in the native American radical tradition.

"This radical tradition is the only tradition I've ever been able to identify with," said McWilliams. "It's discontinuous, it disappears, it breaks off, but it always comes back."

Editorial

IN THESE TIMES

A Twentieth Century Dred Scott case

If consistently applied in subsequent cases, and if rigorously followed in Congress, state legislatures, and social institutions, Justice Powell's decision in the *Bakke* case effectively puts equal protection of the law for Afro-Americans and other nonwhites beyond the pale of the U.S. Constitution.

That is why Justice Thurgood Marshall could say "We have come full circle" from the post-Civil War extirpation of black people's citizenship rights. The circle begins with enslavement, arcs around to non citizenship, and closes with the second-class citizenship many Americans mistakenly thought they had seen come to an end with the civil rights acts of the 1960s.

A nation apart.

The persistent failure to accord Afro-Americans equal membership in the American nation has always lent to the "race question" its nationalist dimension. Deprived of equal status in the market, in the business, political, educational and other great institutions of the nation, blacks have always been a people apart and yet not so apart as to be free to control their own destiny. They have been as a submerged nationality, neither equal nor separate, but held in a bondage of exploitation and oppression genteely called "discrimination," but in all candor resembling a condition of colonial servitude.

The Powell decision confirms that the "race question" is still a national question. The law pretends to treat blacks as if they were equal citizens, but it keeps them from becoming other than a nation apart, yet not apart.

Justice Powell concedes that black people have suffered sustained and systematic unequal treatment, and that the state has a compelling interest in "ameliorating" its effects. But he holds that "eliminating" those effects may be a state interest only "where feasible." Black equality is from the outset placed at the convenience or sufferance of the larger nation. Blacks will still remain apart.

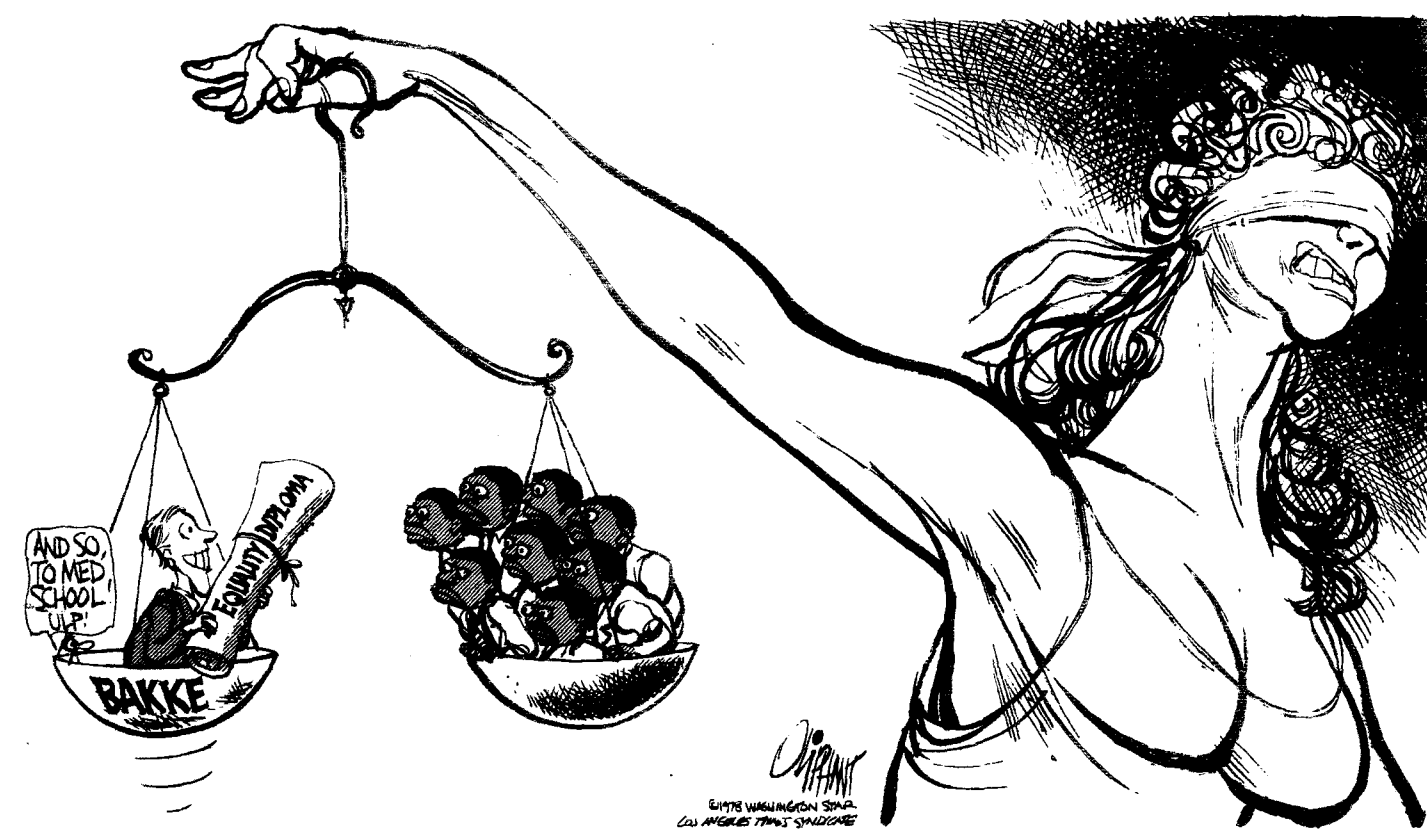
Powell holds, moreover, that the disabilities that all blacks suffer from racial inequalities cannot be remedied unless each black can prove injury from discrimination, or unless an official body finds that the specific institution had a past or current record of discrimination.

That leaves black individuals to shift for themselves in long and costly litigation, or it leaves the determination of discrimination to white-dominated political institutions.

Cutting the 14th Amendment.

The opinion of the four other pro-Bakke justices, Warren Burger, John Stevens, Potter Stewart, and William Rehnquist, amounts essentially to the same thing: It holds that Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act does not provide special remedies for racial inequality and that Congress must do so. But as the justices well know, the current Congress will pass no such legislation. If it did, the Court still might strike it down, and under the Powell doctrine must strike it down.

Beyond this, Justice Powell reduces racial inequality to just one factor among many of one competing for his attention. He shifts the "compelling interest of the state" from the 14th Amendment concern for racial equality in education to a fanciful First Amendment concern for diversity of student bodies. Even the amelioration, let alone the elimination, of the effects of discrimination in education, no longer has priority over other, lesser claims. State agencies, from legislatures to universities, are free to weigh one against the other, as long as they don't



make combatting racial inequality the primary concern.

This, rather than technical definitions of "quotas" or "goals," is the heart of the matter. The Court's decision comes "full circle" in gutting the Fourteenth Amendment. States may not voluntarily (as California ostensibly did at Davis) move decisively against racial inequality. If they do, the federal government in the robes of the Court will intercede against them. Let the devotees of states rights ponder that.

Brennan's opinion.

The opinion of Justice Brennan, joined by justices Marshall, Harry Blackmun, and Byron White, lays the judicial basis for a true commitment to racial equality. It asserts the state's compelling interest in racial equality.

Brennan recognizes that discrimination against blacks, both informal and "officially sanctioned," is both of long duration and "not a thing of the past"; he understands that a "racially neutral" affirmative action program is virtually a nullity in treating racial inequality; and affirms, as constitutional and as implied in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, compensatory measures that "remedy disadvantages," but do not "demean or insult any racial group," and that remedy "societal discrimination" without the need to prove immediate discrimination in each and every case.

As Justice Blackmun puts it, "In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race. ... And in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently." Any other approach perverts the 14th Amendment's Equal Protection Clause, as the Court has done before, into an instrument that must "perpetrate racial supremacy." Or, as Justice Marshall warns, it will "ensure that America will forever remain a divided society."

The Great Compromise.

The civil rights acts of the 1960s and the ensuing affirmative action programs were the Great 20th Century Compromise intended to reconcile formal racial equality with the existing social structure. They offered some access by blacks to rights, opportunities and privileges available to whites, under protection of the law. That access, however, was limited—first, in the same sense as it is to whites lacking in wealth and influence, but second, in the sense that the disabilities suffered by blacks from racism make it more difficult

to approach the points of access.

Under present circumstances, affirmative action must be sustained and extended as a remedy for disabilities imposed by past and present racial inequality. The Powell decision fails to do this.

But affirmative action as now constituted is a limited, remedial response to a situation requiring comprehensive treatment if universal equality is to be attained—the genuine diversity of universal equality, not the false "diversity" invoked by Powell.

By its very nature, affirmative action in its current form is capable of benefiting only a small number of those suffering the effects of racism. And it shifts the burden of achieving even those small gains from government, the wealthy and the powerful, to working people who are thrown into more intense competition for scarce educational slots, jobs, and opportunities. It is the ameliorative alternative to the fundamental restructuring of the social order that will be required for full equality. That amelioration the Powell decision rejects.

Regroupment prospect.

The Great Compromise is tearing at the seams under the sharp edge of economic disarray and a deepening class conflict that is spreading from the business-labor struggle over income and unionism to the tax system and on through every sphere of society. Far from being a compromise—as many have wishfully judged it—the Powell decision breaks the civil rights compromise. It is the judicial expression of the end of the compromise. It is an opinion in *extremis*.

But there is a basis for regroupment in response to the Powell decision. As never before, labor needs to ally itself with black political power, and both need to ally with progressive women, the poor, and other oppressed groups, if labor or any of the others are to defend their interests or to achieve goals they now increasingly hold in common: jobs, education, health care, equal opportunity in every sphere of society—goals that the right-wing utterly opposes and that the workings of the corporate order increasingly obstruct and, past a point, can hardly tolerate.

The regroupment involves a convergence of struggle against class impediments to equality with struggle against racist impediments, and the two with women's struggles for equality. Unlike the past, blacks are a large component of the labor movement, and they have the

vote; women are politically engaged for equal rights to an unprecedented extent. And the ranks of labor, blacks, and women overlap and reach out to all sectors of society.

That white working class people feel aggrieved over affirmative action should not be taken simply as something "bad." It is also the expression of the equalitarian striving, of their dissatisfaction with their lot under the status quo. The task is to translate that striving into an anti-corporate political movement.

Dred Scott revisited.

We are poised at that point in the nation's history where the impediments to equal protection of the law posed by racial oppression and those posed by class division cannot be disentangled. The last time the conflict over race intertwined with that over class, an entire property system—slavery—went under. The stakes are no less today, however still dimly or reluctantly perceived. Instead of slavery it is the corporate property system that impedes the cause of equality and forces it into conflict around both racial and class oppression.

On the eve of the Civil War, in 1857, the Supreme Court, via Chief Justice Taney in a singular manner similar to that of Powell today, handed down the Dred Scott decision. It signalled a great backward step—indeed a nadir—in the movement for freedom. It held that a person of African descent had no rights a white man need respect.

But, at the same time, in breaking the long-standing compromise holding the slave and wage-labor systems together, the Dred Scott decision galvanized the anti-slavery movement as never before into a mighty force that did not stop until the destruction of slavery. It did stop short, however, of establishing equality and genuine democracy, the task remaining to our own generation or those to come if we should fail.

The Powell decision, also, breaks the compromise (of shorter duration) on racial equality embodied in the 1960s civil rights acts. And in an updated version of Dred Scott, it holds that blacks have only those rights that no whites find inconvenient; also a great step backward, another nadir. Might the Bakke decision have a similar galvanizing effect upon the movement that can at long last bring this nation to the fruits of a genuine democracy based upon the indivisibility of liberty and equality for all?

Letters

Welfare for the rich

LEE MARCH WRITES (*ITT*, June 28) regarding Prop 13: "Your editorial omits an essential element... Government is bloated with 17 million employees. Much of it is unacceptably inefficient... Pension ripoffs, excessive holiday and sick leave arrangements, and half day work for full day pay are common."

At a time of heavy unemployment in California, are government employees our real enemies? Will throwing numbers of them on the street help the rest of us? Will cutting down government employee pensions improve the starvation social security stipend that many of us scrape along with?

Actually, Proposition 13 is the biggest swindle on California voters in 40 years. While focusing attention completely on small home-owners, Prop 13's major benefits go to large corporations:

- Texaco gets \$86 million a year tax reduction.
- BankAmerica Corp. gets \$13 million per year.
- Crocker National Bank gets \$82.3 million.
- Standard Oil of California saves \$820 million yearly.
- Agribusiness—Chandler's 400,000-acre Tejon Ranch and Southern Pacific RR's two million acres get unstated amounts.

These are distressed? To aid them we must gut our limping schools and hospitals?

—Samuel Schiffer
Los Angeles, Calif.

Stubborn facts

ALVIN KOGUT ACCUSES *ITT*'S news articles of having an anti-Israel bias (*ITT*, June 28). Perhaps this impression is gained because the articles are based on fact, not emotion or fiction.

None of the six items listed has any bearing on the basic problem in the Middle East. And the problem did not start in 1948 or after WWII with 250,000 displaced Jews which no other country would accept. The problem started back in WWI when the Allies promised the Arabs freedom and self-determination for their support against the Turks and then betrayed that promise. Instead they issued the Balfour Declaration promising the Jews a homeland in Palestine. This promise was made on Nov. 2, 1917, long before Hitler came to power. It was an amoral pragmatic decision based on the theory that the support of world Jewry, particularly American Jewry, was of over-riding importance in the war effort and, as Lord Balfour admitted, the promises given to the Arabs were intended to be broken when given, and their rights and wishes were to have no consideration.

The incursion of the Jews into Palestine following WWI was only possible at the point of British guns. While guilt may have played a part in 1948 in support of Israel, the fact is that the Allies gave Palestine to the Jews and didn't give a damn that they were giving someone else's homeland. And while one is forced to condemn the violence of the PLO, in the history of the Middle East since 1920 the violence of the Arabs can be matched almost point by point by the violence of the Jews.

To anyone who feels that this letter is not based on facts, I suggest that they read some history before they make up their minds. No, I do not know how to solve the problem. How far back in history can one go to correct injustices without creating new injustices which are more monstrous than those we have inherited.

—D.B. Lawrence
Weaverville, N.C.

In praise of Lynch and Stone

CONGRATULATIONS TO Roberta Lynch for her column on the American left's "collective evasion" when it comes to explaining the post-war events in Cambodia (*ITT*, June 21). Making all due allowances for the self-serving distortions of the American press (and remembering the U.S. government's responsibility for launching the civil war in Cambodia through its ouster of Sihanouk), it is still clear that the new government has a lot of blood on its hands.

Lynch argues correctly that this is a political as well as a moral question. However unsatisfactory life in contemporary America might be, few Americans will embrace a socialist alternative until they are convinced that it won't include a local version of the tragedies visited upon the Cambodian people under the Khmer Rouge.

But the problem is broader than Lynch suggests. Cambodia is, after all, relatively easy to criticize. No one I know on the left ever looked specifically to Cambodia as a revolutionary model. As Lynch suggests, we more or less looked at Cambodia as an extension of the struggle in Vietnam.

The more important questions have to do with how we go about criticizing limitations on democratic rights in socialist countries that we continue to admire—like Vietnam, or Cuba, or China. Can we support a revolution and criticize it at the same time? Can we do this without lending aid and comfort to the American government's various ideological and military crusades against Communism?

The historical record suggests this is not an easy balance to achieve. Radicals in the '30s who became critics of Stalin's policies often went on in the '40s and '50s to become apologists for the American side in the Cold War—and in the name of opposing "totalitarianism" many of them wound up supporting the Thieu regime in South Vietnam.

I.F. Stone was one of the few who was able to avoid these pitfalls during those decades. In his writings in those years (reissued in paperback by Vintage under the title *The Truman Era* and *The Haunted Fifties*) he made clear his own commitment to a democratic vision of socialism, his opposition to the continuing denial of democratic rights in the Soviet Union, without ever succumbing to the temptations of anti-Communism.

The "collective evasion" of responsibility for the bad things that go on in socialist countries is an old problem with the American left. We can and should be out front in our criticisms of violations of democratic rights wherever they occur.

—Maurice Isserman
Coventry, Conn.

Misbehavin' Shoelaces

DESPITE GOOD INTENTIONS *ITT* remains a consistently uneven newspaper. Of its ups and downs, "Shoelaces" (*ITT*, June 7) is utterly subterranean. A more appropriate title might have been "Feets Doan' Fail Me Now."

That "Shoelaces" should appear in the same issue with the scathing lucidity of Hans Koning's review of *Ain't Misbehavin'* ("...the most appalling step-and-fetchit production to go on the stage since *Gone With the Wind*...and Shirley Temple had a lili" black six-year-old as her personal maid.") is an incongruity worth pondering. Koning excoriates the "white nostalgia" at *Misbehavin'*'s confectionary core and the mythologizing perspective with its implicitly racist substratum, that robs the play of the power of negation.

Johnson's thankfully short story could be described as "Shoelaces Ain't Misbehavin'." Hereafter, please reserve your trite, superficially "liberal" stories for the "Life in America" section of *Reader's Digest*.

—Edward Mullineaux
—Dr. Kenneth W. Oldfield
Morgantown, W.Va.

Who gives a damn?

YOUR REPORTAGE ON THE Negro question today (*ITT*, June 28) is excellent but you overlooked this one fact: everyone in America is either bribed or murdered so why should it be different with black people?

The hardasses like Martin and Malcolm were murdered while the rest of us went to college and became IBM Negroes.

Of course, there are still millions of poor people in this country, of all races, but who really speaks for them? Who gives a damn?

—Paul Tarsus
Washington, D.C.

Why Soviets can and the U.S. can't

WHILE I CERTAINLY AGREE with the anti-Cold War thrust of the editorial, "Dr. Castro, I presume..." (*ITT*, June 14), I think you overlooked the qualitative difference between U.S. and Soviet foreign policies.

It is no accident that the Soviet Union finds it to its political advantage to aid legitimate national liberation struggles with popular socialist leaderships in Asia and now Africa.

Every people breaking free from capitalist domination, and freeing its sector

of the world economy from imperialist control weakens world capitalism and therefore strengthens the Soviet sphere.

Contrarywise, the imperative to world capitalism requires that not one more square inch of exploitable soil and not one more emaciated body be freed from the ever-diminishing pool of imperialist exploitation.

As an agitational demand we certainly should ask why the U.S. cannot "have detente, or cooperation, with the Soviet Union in Africa by supporting the same movements the Soviets are supporting and giving them the leverage to deal with both the U.S. and the Soviets and remain non-aligned."

We must demand that the U.S. support such movements—or hands off. But we must also explain why American capitalism cannot afford to take our advice.

Reactionary American foreign policy is a direct reflection of the needs of a capitalist economy to loot other systems. Socialist economies do not have such needs.

The Soviet Union, as objectionable as some of us may legitimately believe it to be, is basically a socialist economy and consequently does not have a need to exploit the Third World.

That is why they can aid the good guys and old Uncle Sam cannot.

—A. Robert Kaufman
Baltimore, Md.

DIALOG

Significance of race is not declining

By Chuck Hopkins

I am in general agreement with Evelyn Barnett's conclusions in her review of William J. Wilson's *The Declining Significance of Race* (*ITT*, June 21). However, I would like to focus upon what I think is the book's major weakness. Let me say at the outset that the study is an important work, particularly its documentation and analysis of how racism in different periods of this country's history has emanated from different classes of white people.

The first problem with the study is the meaning Wilson gives to the term "life chances." He obviously accepts what many leftists ascribe to, and that is that human existence is basically reducible to measurable economic categories. Thus, he equates black life chances with the degree of black mobility in the economic sector. I submit that a definition of an individual's life chances, particularly in a society that is both racist and exploitative, has to include more categories than simply one's ability to move in the economic arena.

A glaring weakness of Wilson's study is his apparent acceptance of what constitutes "racial equality" in modern bourgeois society. For example, his discussion of state intervention in this period overlooks the fact that that intervention is only in the context of modern bourgeois civil society with its restrictive definition of what constitutes "legal" equality.

It is important to recall that in the 1950s and 1960s, a debate among intellectuals and activists took place over the question of what was to be the character of social integration in this country. For example, was it to be based upon an assumption of equality of black and white communities, institutions, values,

etc., or was it to be based upon a dominant-subordinate nexus with the supremacy of white standards remaining intact? I think that it is clear from looking at government policies that evolved from the '50s and '60s which concept became operative.

In his discussion of the upward mobility "enjoyed" by black professionals, Wilson ends the "success story" at the point at which black white-collar workers are hired. I think that his entire thesis would have to be revised if he followed these workers to the office. In fact, his main argument rests upon the untenable assumption that racism, which fundamentally is the denial of black self-definition in deference to white imposed standards, ends when black people attain certain income levels.

I would submit that every black white-collar worker is aware of the fact that his/her chances for upward mobility are dependent upon the degree to which he/she demonstrates to white employers that there is no "special" affinity for the black underclass in any meaningful sense. The human price of social suicides, mental illnesses, family destruction, miseducation of children, alienation from a heritage of communal relations, etc., that many black professionals are paying for reaping the "fruits" of capitalist and racist defined social integration is a story yet untold. Whether or not the personal grievances of this segment of the black population can be politicized and reintegrated into a strong new thrust for black liberation is, of course, a question that cannot be answered at this point.

But unlike the conclusions of Wilson, I would argue that one of the most devastating critiques against modern industrial society would be a black movement that demonstrated through its composition and politics that for the vast majority of black people, professional or underclass, there is no solution to black dehumanization under the corporate liberal state, which is both racist and exploitative.

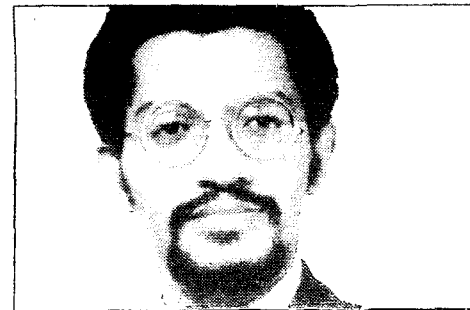
In sum, Wilson's study by no means substantiates a declining significance of race; his restrictive economic categories simply prevent him from taking his analysis far enough.

Chuck Hopkins is a graduate student in political science at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Manning Marable

The Black Power Movement: Whatever happened to it? Part I



It began suddenly on a hot afternoon in the middle of Mississippi, almost 12 years ago. Marching from town to dusty town, the young civil rights workers were tired of the beatings they had received and the arrests. The leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Stokely Carmichael, began chanting "Black Power" to his frustrated and exhausted comrades. Television newsmen, bored with the march and anxious to send a good story back to their New York offices, seized the slogan and projected it across the nation. The cry of "Black Power" became a household word across black America in a matter of weeks, and a new stage of the movement had begun.

The phrase itself was not so unusual. Richard Wright, the famous black novelist, had used these words as the title of a lengthy essay published about a decade before. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell used the term first in a Chicago rally in 1965, and described it in greater detail at his Howard University commencement address in May 1966. But Carmichael, along with the student radical wing of C.O.R.E. and S.N.C.C., had elevated Black Power to a nascent political philosophy.

The old battle cries of "Freedom Now" and "We Shall Overcome" had stressed gradualism, integration and moderation. Black Power meant an end to the dominance of the NAACP-Urban League style moderates in the Movement. A dynamic form of black nationalist-separatism combined with revolutionary-sounding lan-

guage forged the basis for the new wave.

Black political scientist Chuck Stone has written that the "Gold Dust Twins of Negro spokespersonship," Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, were eager to denounce the Black Power concept. Former socialist turned conservative Bayard Rustin called Black Power an ideological dead end and "reverse racism." But after years of freedom rides and voter registration campaigns, the basic economic and political conditions that faced the masses of working class black people had scarcely improved in relationship to the dominant white state and society. The integrationist "Gold Dust" twins discovered, to their shock and great dismay, that Black Power was more than just a slogan: it was the beginning of a new level of political awareness and militancy.

Black Power first came out of the streets and into the establishment when Rep. Powell convened the Black Power Planning Conference in Washington, D.C., in September 1966. The First National Black Power Conference, held in Newark during the summer of 1967, attracted over 1,000 representatives from 228 organizations.

Hastily, other liberal and leftist organizations attempted to corner the Black Power market. The Socialist Scholars' Conference organized a session on Black Power in 1967. Newspaper and television journalists eagerly offered guest appearances and interviews for willing Black Power advocates.

Throughout this crucial initial period,

no single definition of Black Power emerged. From the black professor with beard and dashiki to the disgruntled veteran of sit-ins, all had varying definitions for what they called Black Power.

Some Black Power proponents, including CORE's Roy Innis, understood the term to be, at least initially, a form of cultural and psychological warfare. "Until black children stop saying, 'You're blacker than me and so is your mamma,'" stated Innis, Black Power was essential. Some black nationalist scholars, such as Yusef Ben-Jochannan, were convinced that "it is that power which black peoples had in Africa before the invasion and domination of Africa by the Europeans under the guise of 'taking Christianity to the heathen Africans.'" Martin Luther King Jr., the single major black civil rights leader who did not engage in self-defacing rhetorical battles with Black Powerites, believed that the slogan was simply a reaction to the well-established tradition of American white racism. King insisted that Black Power "was really a cry of disappointment" and "a cry of hurt and despair."

Julian Bond, on the other hand, ignored the black nationalist implications within the term, and insisted that the civil rights movement had actually been pro-Black Power from its inception. "Black Power must be seen as a natural extension of the work of the civil rights movement over the past few years," he wrote. "From the courtroom to the streets in favor of integrated public facilities; from

the ballot box to the meat of politics, the organization of voters into self-interest units."

By 1967 and 1968 Black Power had become the basic tenet for any dialogue within black electoral and community politics. Addressing the National Urban League conference in August 1967, Sen. Edward W. Brooke, a Republican, surprised his audience by embracing Black Power. Guardedly, Brooke claimed that he favored Black Power if it meant "the ability to change conditions so that opportunities are opened" for poor blacks.

CORE leader Floyd McKissick amended this definition of Black Power by emphasizing its economic meanings. "The doctrine of Black Power is this new thrust which seeks to achieve economic power and to develop political movements," he insisted. By March 1968, presidential candidate Richard Nixon endorsed the Brooke-McKissick version of Black Power in a televised address.

What happened to Black Power? From its inception to its high point in 1968-69, neither its advocates nor its opponents, black or white, had defined the term. The real reasons for the decline and ultimately, the destruction of the Black Power Movement, go back to the original lack of clarity and direction that have characterized all black political activism during the '70s.

Manning Marable is chairperson of the department of political science, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and an associate fellow of the Institute of the Black World, Atlanta.

Joshua Dressler

Study shows law students liberal but confused on gay rights

One of the most frustrating aspects of the struggle of gay people to obtain legal, political, and human equality in this country is that they can look for assistance to no single branch of government, and that the people and their institutions are also in general opposition to gay rights.

Recent elections confirm that about two thirds of the voting population is easily emotionalized by fundamentalist church leaders and other right front groups. They are willing, when given the opportunity, to deny essential human rights to at least ten percent of the population.

Legislators, who had recently been in the forefront of decriminalization of sodomy laws and in the enactment of laws to prohibit discrimination against gay people, are now running scared. No help can be expected from them. The executive, meanwhile, has never been a leader in this field.

That leaves the judiciary. To date, however, judges—even those lacking the excuse that they fear election defeat—have been as guilty of homophobia, the irrational fear of gay people, as the rest of society. Court decisions have been riddled with emotional language, stereotypical thinking, and lapses in both logic and humanity. The Supreme Court, in the meantime, has avoided considering directly a gay rights case in over a decade (which, today, is no loss, given the views of the court). Matters have been so bad that one court actually had to remind the public (and itself?) that a "homosexual is, after all, a human being."

Because of the enormous impact of the judiciary on the issue of gay rights, I recently conducted a national study of the attitudes of law students, the future judges and litigators of the issue, regarding homosexuality and, particularly, the right of gay people to teach. The complete results will be published this December in the

Journal of Homosexuality (for a copy, write *Journal, Psychology Building, Room 502, San Francisco State University, San Francisco, CA 94132*.)

Briefly, the results indicate a hopeful, albeit long-run, trend. Although heterosexual law students are victims of substantial stereotypical thinking about gay people, they were substantially more liberal about the rights of gay people to be teachers than is the current judiciary.

I first questioned students on various common and false stereotypes about gay people. None received majority acceptance. Some, however, were believed by a significant minority of students. For example, 22 percent believed that most gay males display obvious effeminate physical mannerisms; another 12 percent had no opinion. Thirty-one percent either believed that most gays are mentally ill, or had no opinions. About one out of every ten non-gay law students believed that gay people will make sexual advances upon children more often than would heterosexuals; another 17 percent had no opinion. Interestingly, about 13 percent agreed with Anita Bryant's role-model argument that "if a homosexual is allowed to teach young children, his/her very presence in the classroom would cause increased homosexuality among the children." Another 16 percent were unsure.

On the other hand, the same students were slow to advocate firing gay teachers. The most startling result was that only 4 percent would fire a teacher solely because he or she was gay. This figure is in conflict with both a recent Washington Supreme Court decision upholding a discharge based on status and a finding of a *McCall's* study that nearly 50 percent of all high school principals would fire under such circumstances.

Even when a teacher is convicted of a private adult criminal homosexual act,

only 29 percent would fire the teacher; other figures in my study lend support for the idea that the result is explainable on the basis that law students do not like law breakers of any kind teaching children.

Two other results are noteworthy. First, women law students were substantially and consistently more liberal on the subject of gay rights than their male counterparts. Second, and most provocatively, nearly 40 percent of all the law students said they personally had had one or more gay teachers in their pre-college school years. This confirms what gay people have been saying all along, that they have been teaching the children of straight people for centuries, at least as far back as Socrates.

What is most interesting in that result, however, is that the figures in my study totally refute Anita Bryant's role-model argument. Non-gay law students had exactly the same percentage of gay teachers in their youth as did the gay law students. Put differently, having a gay teacher in one's youth had no statistical significance for whether one would become gay.

In any event, as to the future of the judiciary, there is hope, especially if women are increasingly appointed to the judiciary. But, the hope is a long time away.

Joshua Dressler is associate professor of law at Hamline University Law School, St. Paul, Minn. His column appears regularly.



the PUBLIC EYE



*The premier issue provides an analysis of the NCLC and the *Information Digest*. Fall, 1977.

*Vol. 1, No. 2 concentrates on COINTEL-PRO, surveillance of anti-nukes, and the national police computer network. April, 1978.

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War in Lebanon

Continued from page 9.

volved in a cycle of killings and counter-killings and clashes. A Kataeb attempt to get Zghorta workers dismissed from the Chekka cement factory to make jobs available for its own adherents produced a clash in the factory that led to its weeks-long shut-down forcing a showdown in the construction industry. The infernal cycle culminated in the Ehden massacre.

The Kataeb required five days to draft a statement on the subject. As always, it placed the responsibility on unidentified "foreign agents" (Palestinians? Syrians?) and also on the government for its failure to provide security.

But the Lebanese Front itself is largely responsible for the government's impotence. "It shelters hundreds of wrongdoers and criminals wanted by the authorities," a source close to the government commented. "It attempts to substitute itself for the government, poses a thousand and one conditions for its cooperation, insists on maintaining its private armies."

The Front's aim is not to strengthen the government but to weaken it further and to force its resignation. Lebanese Front leader Camille Chamoun plainly indicated this in calling on it to resign if it could not provide security. The Front is bent on preventing any agreement among the Syrians, Palestinians and the

Lebanese authorities on the Palestine presence in Lebanon.

But the intestinal and murderous quarrels of the Maronite right, Lebanon's ruling class for the last half century and more, are not simply traditional clan vendettas. They mark the continuing rise on the political scene of a party that was inspired by the German Nazis and the Spanish Falangists, a party with large and growing ambitions. In a frantic effort to preserve the undemocratic dominance and privileges of the Christian right, the Kataeb for the past decade has ceaselessly promoted the thesis that "Palestinian aliens"—along with the "international communists"—are responsible for all the evils of Lebanese society.

The Kataeb are determined to impose an authoritarian one-party dictatorship over a Christian Lebanon in which all who do not toe the line—whatever their sectarian or political complexion—face repression. Its attempt to advance implementation of this solution through the assault on Ehden (in conjunction with the stand of its and other rightist militias in the south) was as clumsy as it was brutal. Today the Kataeb is—for the moment at least—isolated. But it is no less convinced, in the words of Bashir Gemayel, that "no one can stop the process of history" of which it sees itself the instrument.

N.Y. killing

Continued from page 8.

ping street, Utica Avenue, had been the scene of some of the worst rioting during last summer's black-out. Miller was one of the prime movers in getting people to reinvest in the area. His death robbed the community of an effective leader and spokesman.

In response to Miller's death, a broad-based community group has been formed, the Coalition of Concerned Leaders and Citizens to Save Our Youth, which has in a short period of time gained widespread support throughout New York's large black community.

Rev. Herbert Daughtry, chairman of the coalition, believes Miller died "because the police see black men as a menace." He adds that his death also illustrates "the powerlessness of black people to effect their destinies. It's more than a single issue of the police. The larger issues are how the city's institutions control and manipulate black people—how, when Mayor Koch gets ready to cut the budget, it's the people with the least political power who get their services cut more than anyone else."

Crown Heights is a community divided by racial and religious antagonisms.

It is a middle income neighborhood, half black and half white, Jewish, Protestant and Roman Catholic.

There have been several confrontations between the black and Hasidic (Jewish) communities and, not unlike the Irish, each side maintains its own safety patrols, with the result that blacks are beaten up by Hasidim and vice versa. Only two days after the Miller incident, for instance, a black youth was found comatose after what police said was an attack by at least 20 Hasidic youths.

The confrontation between the Hasidim and blacks has entered into a period of uneasy calm following Miller's death. Any provocation could set off fireworks. "You've got a situation that's tense," a police spokesman observed. "Anything can happen."

Josh Martin writes frequently for *IN THESE TIMES*.



Cuban exile

Continued from page 10.

the Garcias said. "They are into safety and health." Wages, however, are fixed nationally by job category. Incentives are provided in the form of priorities for buying scarce consumer durables, with shop committees determining the priorities based on merit and need. The group spent four days working with a construction mini-brigade from a textile plant. Volunteers from the shops build houses under skilled supervision, receiving their regular plant pay, while fellow workers in the plant undertake to make up for their absence.

In a peasant village in the Sierra Maestra the group found several schools, four hospitals, ample roads. Older peasants told them that before the Revolution, they were all illiterate, isolated—no schools, hospitals, doctors or roads. You

had to carry a sick one on your back for a day or more to get medical attention in the nearest town. Now, a peasant said, he is himself educated, one son is an engineer, another is fighting in Angola "so that the revolution there can give the Angolan people what it has given us here."

The Garcias said that no one appeared inhibited in criticizing the regime or Fidel. No one is arrested for expression, they were told, though on rare occasion an arrest does occur for sabotage. Their participation and sense of sharing responsibility has given the Cubans "an analytical and critical spirit" integral to their lives and they put it to use, the Garcias observed. One manifestation was the repeated warning to the group: "Don't idealize our Revolution. It has made many mistakes and has a long way to go."

Max Gordon is a former editor of the *Daily Worker*.

Sadat's Egypt

Continued from page 10.

diverting scarce funds from social services and economic development and by a growing dependence on foreign aid, especially from the U.S. and Saudi Arabia.

Since U.S.-Egyptian relations were restored in November 1973, for example, American aid to Egypt has risen from zero to \$1 billion a year, and the embassy staff administering the growing "special relationship" has increased from six to 188. Furthermore, the Gulf Organization for the Development of Egypt annually channels \$2 billion in oil revenues into Egypt's coffers.

But Sadat's economic problems present his foreign friends with a growing political dilemma. Aid administrators in Cairo freely concede that their money is doing nothing to produce basic economic reforms. Experts say these are political, not economic, investments. Without the aid, they said, they fear Sadat could face severe internal political problems and that the peace process with Israel and currently cordial relations between the oil exporters and importers might be threatened if Sadat were replaced by a more radical Egyptian government.

One of Sadat's more outspoken critics charged that thanks to this "checkbook diplomacy," a new kind of bourgeoisie, linked to the oil-surplus establishment, has come to the fore. This group, he said,

is less interested in building the economy than with discrediting and disqualifying the political options Egypt developed in the past. Sadat is defying "the aspirations of wide strata of the Third World" by accepting a client relationship with the U.S. and the conservative Arab states.

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T.D. Allman, a contributing editor of *Pacific News Service* and *Harper's* in the past five years has covered the *Middle East* for both publications and the *New York Times*, *Manchester Guardian* and *Le Monde*.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

SPORTS

Rising rookies of world tennis

By Jack Monet

WIMBLEDON, ENGLAND

WHEN BJORN BORG, Jimmy Connors or Guillermo Vilas is mechanically dominating a tennis tournament, the restless fan turns to other courts, looking for the promising young prospects.

Someday they may give one of the Big 3 a battle worth watching. Who are they?

Some of the current hopefuls include Yannick Noah, 18, of France, Jose-Luis Clerc, 19, of Argentina, Heinz Gunthardt, 19, of Switzerland, and Ivan Lendl, 18, of Czechoslovakia.

"They're the best young players around," says Arthur Ashe, "the ones people on the circuit are talking about."

Other prospects?

Van Winitsky, 19, of the U.S., and Gilles Moretton, 20, and Pascal Portes, 19, both of France.

All of them played in the recent French Open, several went to Wimbledon, and all will probably be in the U.S. Open in late August.

At 34, Ashe has reason, of course, to be looking over his shoulder. Ironically, his own eye for talent is responsible for the development of one of the prospects—Noah. It amounts to the best black tennis player of all time serving as the patron for the next world-class black tennis player.

While on a tour of Africa seven years ago, Ashe spotted Noah in the Cameroun, a former French territory.

"I made a call to a tennis official in France," Ashe recalls, "and told him, 'This kid is unbelievable. You've got to get him to France right away.'"

The French did, placing Noah in a sports-oriented lycee at Nice. Noah was uprooted from his family, but his parents are familiar with the experience—his Cameroun father once played professional soccer in France and his mother is French, but lives in Africa.

Under the patronage of Arthur Ashe, Yannick Noah (right) is on his way to world tennis stardom.

Now, Ashe's push and Noah's diligence in tennis studies have made the teenager the probable top player in France.

Not officially yet, but at the French Open last month, Noah easily beat Moretton, who earlier had brushed aside France's longtime No. 1 ranked player, Francois Jauffret, 36.

A few months ago, at Nice, Noah reached the finals of a Grand Prix tournament for the first time, losing to the experienced Jose Higuera of Spain. In the French Open, Noah fell to Vilas in the third round, in four sets, 2-6, 6-4, 1-6, 1-6. (In the next round, Vilas beat Ashe in three sets, 6-2, 6-2, 6-2.)

Another confirmation of Noah's progress: Ashe picking him as doubles partner at Wimbledon.

Noah was typically uneven at Wimbledon. He was impressive in a come-from-behind, first-round triumph over another rising star, the older Ricardo Ycaza of Ecuador, 8-9, 3-6, 6-2, 6-1, 10-8. But in the second round, the veteran Tom Okker of the Netherlands quickly spotted Noah's weak points and cruised past him in three easy sets, 6-2, 6-3, 6-2.

Clerc, meanwhile, fell in the first round to Wojtek Fibak of Poland, 3-6, 5-7, 5-7. No disgrace. Other older, more renowned players who went out in the first round included Ashe, Dick Stockton and Jan Kodes. Another first-round loser was last year's phenomenon, John McEnroe.

In mid-July, Noah will be on France's Davis Cup squad for the first time, though almost a year away from his 19th birthday.



"He's got everything," Ashe says. "All he needs to do is calm down. He's too tempestuous."

By everything, Ashe means a big serve, topspin forehand and backhand, plus a heavily sliced backhand and a good volley. But he is slow to change direction, possibly because he is still growing and, like a colt, not quite in control of his body yet.

Noah and the other prospects know one another well. They've met frequently at international junior tournaments.

Except for Moretton, all the prospects have won or shared in international junior titles. Lendl, for instance, won last winter's Orange Bowl tournament (beating Noah) and Noah and Portes won the Sunshine Cup team title.

In recent months, Gunthardt and Clerc have both won Grand Prix tournaments.

In February, at Springfield, Mass., Gunthardt, a former Wimbledon and

French juniors titlist, became the first professional to go from "lucky loser" status in the qualifying rounds on to victor in the finals. En route he beat Jan Kodes of Czechoslovakia and in the finals he defeated Harold Solomon of the U.S., 6-3, 3-6, 6-2.

Clerc, who led Argentina to victory in last summer's Galea Cup (a European version of the Sunshine Cup), won in May at Florence, Italy. His victims included John Alexander of Australia and, in the final, France's experienced Davis Cup player, Patrice Dominguez, 6-4, 6-2, 6-1.

All this makes Ashe anxious for victories now.

"I've got to get my licks in before I have to retire," he says.

He got a good victory at the French Open, beating Kodes on clay for the first time in their long rivalry. Kodes is no spring chicken, however. He is 32.

Jack Monet is a writer in Paris.

Expanded role for tennis coaches

By Jack Monet

WIMBLEDON, ENGLAND

ION TIRIAC GIVES THE IMPRESSION that he would like to send in plays to Guillermo Vilas on every point, the way football coaches do with every play. Since tennis hasn't reached that point yet, the Romanian coach did the next best thing at the French Open in Paris last month. He took a seat in a box just behind Vilas' chair and gave verbal advice to the Argentine during changeovers, signalled by hand when the player was on the court, taped racquet handles and passed Vilas a new racquet when a string broke.

At the same tournament, Jean-Paul Loth, head of the French national squad, also took a seat in a box just behind Patrice Dominguez's chair. Dennis Ralston, the former captain of the U.S. Davis Cup squad, meanwhile, preferred a box just behind one of the baselines in coaching a group of Americans he is working with this year.

This proximity is quite easy to achieve at the Stade Roland Garros in Paris, where the seats are closer to the center court than at most other big arenas. More than at most other tournaments, the steadily expanding role of coaches was evident in

Paris. An exception to the player-coach hand-holding is the case of Bjorn Borg and Lennart Bergelin. At the French Open the Swedish coach sat high up in the section of the stands reserved for the players.

The fans are generally unaware of the exchanges. So are reporters, sitting far away in press boxes. But it is evident to photographers, who move around the sidelines.

In Davis Cup matches the captains can be on the field with the players. Since this overt relationship does not exist in pro tournaments, the coaches and players try to be discreet.

Tiriac, for instance, talks, mainly in Italian, in a low voice to Vilas, who continues to towel himself off without turning around. Occasionally, Vilas will turn his head slightly to throw a remark over his shoulder.

(At the French Open, a woman in a box was increasingly irritated by the Tiriac-Vilas conversations. At one point in a tense five-set match between Vilas and Hans Guildemeister of Chile, the Argentine came over to get a new racquet from Tiriac and the woman told Vilas, in French, "Stop talking!" Vilas, who understands French but prefers to speak in English, even at French news conferences, replied: "Fuck you!" Just another sign of the

domination of Anglo-Saxons in international tennis.)

What do the coaches tell the players?

Well, Ralston was overheard telling Roscoe Tanner in the middle of the American's losing effort against Borg, "Three-quarters serve." Once, after Borg had been at the net, Ralston reminded Tanner, "Don't forget the lob."

On the advice for a "three-quarters serve," Ralston explained later that he didn't think Tanner's big serve was working well, so he suggested he use three-quarters speed on the serve for more accuracy.

Only one of Tiriac's remarks to Vilas was overheard, and that several times. "Movi." On hearing it, Vilas does the jig that he often goes into while waiting for a serve. The jig apparently keeps Vilas loose, mentally and physically.

Last year, Ralston coached Dick Stockton and Brian Gottfried at Wimbledon and those two and Tanner at Forest Hills. This year he's helping six players—Stockton, Gottfried, Tanner, Bob Lutz, Stan Smith and Harold Solomon.

He works out with them in practice and, he says, during a match "tries to encourage them and point out a few things."

"But the player's the one that has to do it out there," he says. "The coach can't just wave his magic wand."

To avoid conflict of interest, Ralston sits out matches when two of his players meet in a tournament. He recalls that happened earlier this year in Las Vegas when Tanner and Stockton played in a \$50,000 match. Tanner won, 7-6, 7-6.

At the French Open the "battle of coaches" went to Bergelin, the one farthest away from his player during a match. "Iceborg," as the English call the Swede, doesn't need his hand held.

In earlier rounds Gottfried was upset by an unknown German, Rolf Gehring, Smith was upset by an unknown Czechoslovak, Stanislas Birner, and Solomon was defeated by Guildemeister, another upset. Lutz skipped the French Open.

Vilas, the defending champion, introduced a new stroke for the French Open (to defeat Borg, that is)—a sliced backhand that he alternated in rallies with his famous topspin backhand and forehand.

But the new stroke was not perfected. The brisk wind prevailing the day of the final occasionally caught the sailing undercut ball and carried it out.

More importantly, the stroke was the main weapon in a strategy of trying to beat Borg by going to the net. Vilas, long a baseline specialist, came in most short balls, but netted the backhand slice approach shot many times.

What the decision means

Continued from page 6.

"In the Civil Rights Cases...the Court wrote that the Negro emerging from slavery must cease 'to be the special favorite of the laws.' ...We cannot in light of the history of the last century yield to that view. Had the Court in that case and others been willing to 'do for human liberty and the fundamental rights of American citizens what it did...for the protection of slavery and the rights of the masters of fugitive slaves,' (...Harlan, j. dissenting) we would not need now to permit the recognition of any 'special wards.'"

"Most importantly, had the Court been willing in 1896, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, to hold that the Equal Protection Clause forbids differences in treatment based on race, we would not be faced with this dilemma in 1978.... I do not believe that anyone can truly look into America's past and still find that a remedy for the effects of that past is impermissible."

In short, Justice Marshall pinpoints the fraudulence of the slogan, "reverse discrimination" under which the *Bakke* battle was fought.

Laurence R. Sperber is an attorney and

the former legal director of the Southern California ACLU.

Not bad, not good

Continued from page 7.

or sex in either employment or university admissions.

Furthermore, Powell's decision, unlike the four-justice opinion written by Justice William J. Brennan, seemed to require evidence of discrimination by particular institutions, not simply prevailing patterns of "societal discrimination."

Societal discrimination, of course, is the toughest, most necessary barrier to crack. But even a stronger affirmative action decision in the *Bakke* case would have done only a little on that count, Prof. Wilson argues. "The decision and affirmative action will have little impact on the black underclass," he says, "because those programs are not designed to deal with the structural barriers to employment." Corporations would be more threatened by restrictions on their freedom to relocate business out of the central city, which would aid the poorest blacks, than by even the toughest affirmative action, he suggests.

The Supreme Court stayed the execution of affirmative action plans that could at least help a black middle class and more skilled, experienced workers in factories and offices, even if they offer small hope to the most impoverished. The likely political skirmishes of the next few years, fought outside the courts as much as inside them, will determine just how badly affirmative action will be crippled.

Real Competitors

Continued from page 7.

disappointment widespread," says Richard B. Freeman, a professor of economics at Harvard University. "This disappointment will be deepened by the fact that, on the average, these workers will be better educated than many of their superiors."

Already there are estimates that as

many as one million college graduates are unemployed or underemployed in the U.S. Prospects that the economy will be able to absorb this flood of highly educated and qualified individuals seems gloomy at this time.

While blacks have made some gains since the civil rights era, these gains have come only to a few. Even then they are often precarious.

Between 1966 and 1976 the proportion of black families with incomes of \$15,000 or more increased from 19 to 30 percent, and black families with incomes over \$25,000 grew from 3 to 8 percent. But during this decade the number of unemployed blacks doubled and the number of unemployed adult black men tripled.

"Not only is the proportion of blacks at the bottom of the economy higher today than it used to be, but the base for black advancement into the middle class is now weaker than it was in the late '60s," says *Black Enterprise* magazine.

Because education is such an important gateway to opportunity in America, increasing attendance of blacks in college is often cited as a cause for optimism. But the growth of black attendance in college from 4.6 to 10.7 percent of all students fails to note that more than 60 percent of blacks are attending two-year colleges and vocational schools.

Recent figures indicate that the number of blacks in four-year colleges and professional schools has stopped rising or declined. The *New England Journal of Medicine* reports that the number of blacks applying to medical schools has decreased in recent years and that the pool of qualified applicants is so small that the resurgence of applicants in the near future is not likely.

The effect of the Supreme Court decision ordering *Bakke's* admission is to suggest that it is acceptable for whites to lose places to other whites in a potentially disruptive struggle for limited opportunities, but not to blacks or other minorities.

(©1978 Pacific News Service)

Joel Dreyfuss is completing a book on the *Bakke* case to be published by Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.

Class remains key

Continued from page 7.

four of the MCAT sub-tests (general information and verbal ability) contain a large number of items in which "persons from other than majority, urban—even 'cultured'—culture would have difficulty, a difficulty that would not appear to correspond to any similar difficulty encountered in the process of medical education or practice."

Cole and Richards found little correlation between the scores students achieved on the MCAT and their actual performance in medical schools or their performance as doctors.

One solution advanced by Garcia is to design "culturally neutral" tests for each profession. Such adjustments might sound arbitrary, Garcia says, but he notes that adjustments have already been made in IQ tests and the Graduate Records Examination (GRE), used to evaluate applicants to graduate schools, to make them "sex neutral."

"Since men as a group score lower on the verbal Graduate Records Exam, each man is assigned a higher percentage score than any woman who does as well on the test, and he receives a higher percentile score than many women who do better than he does," Garcia explains.

This procedure candidly admits that men as a group are 'disadvantaged' when compared to women in the verbal component of the GRE and that normalized scores increase their chances of admission. The precedent is clear for the normalizing within the relevant ethnic groups.

"It is the minority candidates who should be suing for being subjected to an admission test such as the MCAT, for the courts have established that applicants can not be subjected to tests that bear no relation to the occupation for which they apply," Garcia concludes.

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Martin Brown, an associate editor of *Pacific News Service*, is a post-graduate research economist at the University of California at Berkeley.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

ART

The many faces of Saul Steinberg



Portrait of the artist

Inge Morath, 1958

SAUL STEINBERG
Catalogue with commentary by
Harold Rosenberg
A. A. Knopf, New York, \$10.95

Recognition of Saul Steinberg as one of the major contemporary U.S. artists has been delayed and obscured in part by his idiosyncratic style and in part—oddly enough—by his popularity.

Steinberg describes his exquisitely witty drawings, best known as covers and illustrations for the *New Yorker*, as untutored extensions of children's drawing. He may be the kid artist who just grew old, but he is also the perceptive child who spends long summer afternoons dreaming of castles in the sky, the child who is outsider, tourist or immigrant to the adult world, constructing monstrously ironic scenarios out of the fragments of social life.

Born in Rumania, Steinberg settled in Italy in the 1930s, later came to the U.S. and since has traveled and sketched around the world. But New York, whether the city of towering architectural mazes or the playground of odd-ball characters busting through the streets, is his spiritual home and inspiration. Now New York, or at least the Whitney Museum, is paying tribute to its adopted son with a brilliant show, accompanied by an excellent book-catalogue with commentary by *New Yorker* art critic Harold Rosenberg.

Rosenberg describes Steinberg as an artist consumed by the "mystery of individual identity." Often the characters in his draw-

Recognition of a major artist has been delayed in part—oddly enough—by his popularity.

ings are blank, bland Mr. Anybody's, wandering through a world of grotesque masks and perpetual illusions in hopes of becoming somebody. Artifice and style, means of expressing or concealing personal identity, become the subject matter of much of Steinberg's work, Rosenberg writes.

Steinberg's early experience in an architecture school that had been influenced by cubism, as well as his obliquely political cartooning under the severe conditions of Mussolini's Italy, both contributed to his distinctive manner of asking identity questions. Cubism radically expanded the dismantling of visual reality, already begun by post-Impressionist painters. Steinberg fragments the world even further, mixing calligraphy, comic figures, official stamps, cubist caricatures, naturalistic sketches, art objects, allegorical images, verbal commentary and his own private icons (most notably the smiling crocodile) in scenes that contain, within an otherwise most prosaic design, jarring multiple realities.

Such juxtapositions, carried out nonchalantly, provide much

of Steinberg's humor. He writes/draws—he doesn't distinguish the two—about the horrifying effects of contemporary bureaucracy, alienation, disintegration of community, dominance of objects, and, difficulty of communication. Yet there is nothing ponderous in his designs. The weightiest metaphysical dilemmas or existential anguish, like balloon bogeymen, loom large until pricked by Steinberg's comic pen. His subversive observations may be safer and more acceptable than angry denunciations, but the obliqueness and humor also permit a more thorough critique.

In "Prosperity," for example, Steinberg arranges on pedestals an incongruous assortment of American symbols apparently at peace with each other. Uncle Sam shakes hands with Uncle Tom, while Labor and Leisure, Vice and Virtue, Art and Commerce, Science and Industry join together. The tableau is capped by a banker in a top hat—"Prosperity"—with broken chains on his arms, flanked by Sigmund Freud and Santa Claus. The ubiquitous crocodiles appear again: a pair labeled "the pursuit of happiness" devour each other.

In the ocean surrounding the "Ship of State," swim a mermaid "Fun" (whose submerged tail is "Profit"), a crocodilish monster named "What's" about to eat a swan named "Who," and a large fish ("How") swallowing a small fish ("Why"). These two works make a brilliant commentary on American values, lofty and crass at the same time, jumbled together in pointed incongruity, oblivious to reality, and full of self-congratulatory, megalomaniac celebration.

Steinberg's pen turns more often to private dreams, fears and delusions. A garishly painted woman with a doll's smile dances with a grim man in a business suit, neither looking at the other. They are physically joined together but emotionally miles apart. A man, watched by his dog, climbs a ladder from "Absurd" to "Nonsense." Sitting at a table into which his body disappears, a man pulls off his nose and examines it intently. Down in the corner there is the sign of official identity and certainty: a governmental seal.

These themes of reflexiveness, self-examination and mirrored perspectives form the heart of Steinberg's work. Many of his drawings or constructions are of the artist's working materials—pens, erasers, pencils, drafting tools—laid out ready for action but already the work of art. And what is inside us, looking out, examining this confused world? A frightened rabbit standing on a stool, looking through a man's eyes.

Steinberg mixes fact and fiction, turns expressive speech into externalized, materialized objects, uses his drawings as extended art criticism and history and invites the spectator in as a collaborator in his drawings, Rosenberg writes.

All of this is part of the search for the agent who can create meaning out of the chaotic world, who can penetrate the masks and barriers, and who can find identity that is not artifice, not bureaucratic mold, not illusory myth, and not private dream and delusion. Steinberg is still looking. The search itself may be the answer to the quest.

—David Moberg

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MOVIES

Just when you thought it was safe to go back to the movies...

GREASE

Screenplay by Bronte Woodard, adapted by Allan Carr, based on the original musical by Jim Jacobs and Warren Casey. Directed by Randal Kleiser. With John Travolta and Olivia Newton-John. Paramount Pictures, Rated PG.

To criticize *Grease* for being superficial is like shooting duck-tails in a barrel. It may be unfair to put down a film for lack of meat when its intention is clearly to be dessert. But even for fluff (as its name might imply), *Grease* just lies there, an unappetizing lump. The plot is inane, the acting shallow, the song-and-dance numbers (with rare exceptions) mediocre.

But it was not always thus.

Although authors Jacobs and Casey never pretended to serious art, when the original play opened on the Chicago equivalent of off-Broadway in 1971, it was an amusing look at the nearly extinct cult of Greasers at a time when imitating the '50s was something novel.

The national touring version (seven years on Broadway and still going strong) had its redeeming features, even though it had lost most of its local color and a lot of the humor.

On film, however, what good points there were in *Grease* have been blotted out. Musicals almost always suffer when transferred from stage to screen. The suffering was intensified in this instance by the cloddish rewriting of Carr and Woodard, who changed the title's reference from people to hair oil, changed a youthful subculture to kids-in-general, changed rock'n'roll to disco and traded a gritty city setting for sunny South-

ern California.

Most disastrously, *Grease* finds itself in the embarrassing position of being a movie whose time has come and gone. The '50s nostalgia bit has been watered down and replayed too often. Does anybody still want to go to a theater and see John Travolta doing Henry Winkler doing the Fonz? Or Olivia Newton-John for any reason?

Stockard Channing is terribly miscast as the toughie Rizzo.

Sid Caesar and Eve Arden should have opted for doing more commercials if they needed the money. Didi Conn, hiding under a pink wig, is kind of cute as Frenchy, the beauty school dropout. But that's no reason to see a movie.

If you crave something with a '50s flavor, take in *American Hot Wax*. If you hunger for Travolta's visage on the wide screen, indulge yourself in *Saturday Night Fever*. But keep *Grease* out of your diet.

—P. Hertel
P. Hertel reviews films regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.

JAWS 2

Written by Carl Gottlieb and Howard Sackler. Directed by Jeannot Szwarc. Universal Pictures.

"Just when you thought it was safe to go back in the water..." warn the ads for this thrashing hulk of a picture, and just when you thought it was safe to go back in the theater. *Jaws 2* rises from the depths, on the heels of 1978's slickest publicity campaign. Already we have been subjected to the "novelization" of the film, on bookstands and in magazine excerpts. In this regres-



sive age the novel is written *after* the screenplay but released *before* the movie to promote ticket sales. Then when the movie has cleaned up sufficiently, book sales start to spiral again, as people turn to the written word to make sure they haven't missed anything on the screen (no danger of that here). It's the perfect symbiotic relationship. The Law of the Ocean becomes the Law of the Box Office, not to mention the Law of the Paperback.

Of course *Jaws I* (as I suppose we must call it from now on) was hyped to the gills, and that didn't keep it from being a good adventure film. Amid the knee-jerk suspense-mongering there were some touches of real artistry — not many, but some. And there was real acting on the part of Robert Shaw and Richard Dreyfuss.

This time around we see a lot more shark and a lot less Richard Dreyfuss. Nothing, in fact. Roy Scheider as Police Chief Martin Brody is still there, battling valiantly against dialogue carved from a bar of soap and bouncing it off the surrounding residents of Amity, who seem to have been cut out of construction paper. Not only can we not identify with the shark victims, we almost welcome their deaths as mercy killings.

Of all the characters in the film the shark's is the best-developed. Certainly he has the only hint of a motive. Chief Brody suggests, darkly, that perhaps *Jaws 2* has come to avenge the brutal slaying of *Jaws I*, and not simply, as we thought, because teenagers come in bite-size servings and contain few calories.

Through it all John Williams' typically heavy-handed score makes musical tidal waves out of ripples in the plot. When the rich island kids launch their little sailboats, it sounds like the Seven Voyages of Sinbad.

Director Jeannot Szwarc does a fairly good Steven Spielberg, but screenwriters Gottlieb and Sackler do a rotten Peter Benchley. That Peter Benchley is what they aspire to indicates the general level of the enterprise and the calculating yet strangely blundering mentality of the men who have thrust it upon us. *They* are the mechanical sharks, and their victims are those who have already put their money down for this rubbish.

—Kurt Luchs

Kurt Luchs is a free-lance writer in Chicago.

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ROCK

In the pits with punks

I am "standing in a narrow, dirty pit, littered with old film cannisters and empty beer cans, in the company of seven rock'n'-roll photographers, all exuding carefully practiced nonchalance.

In front of us, at nose level, is the vast stage of the Rainbow Theater—Mount Olympus of modern music gods. Behind us is a low wall, and behind that, 400 paid-up members of the rising generation, dressed to the pins in regal punk gear, come to laud London's first "major venue" punk-rock evening.

On the punks' side of the wall is a line of arm-linked security guards, wearing T-shirts marked "Artists Services." Even by the over-the-top security standards of such occasions, these are something special. Everyone of them could kick-start a jumbo jet.

The first of the night's five groups take to the stage, and large sections of the audience take to the outside. The lensperson clique decides to sit out this and the next two acts, passing up the opportunity to photograph a group called the Buzzcocks. (This proves to be an error, for they are on their way to better than average success.)

stage, we compare notes: "What were you shooting at?... A 60th at 3/5?... Yeah, that's about right."

The security guards reform ranks while the roadies rearrange the stage.

Then the houselights go down. The stage spots throw a disco-warmth over the area, heralding the entrance of London's premier punks, the Clash. The crowd surges forward, almost toppling the security guards onto our heads. The music begins.

The Clash have put new meaning into the term "motor-driven." They play a live set that stretches toward a half hour while we stand on each other's shoes, straining for the one, classic, forever gold shot.

Then the first seat cushion comes flying stageward. Plugging themselves in, the security guards surge forward to flatten the first two rows of punks, only to be met by a countersurge too powerful for the men from Artists Services. A few of them jump/



Photos/Keith Bernstein

Above: Joe Strummer, lead guitarist of the Clash.



Right: The Jam

In the backstage Artists Bar, we sit and regale each other with tales from the rock'n'roll photographers' horror catalogue ("... the time I was flattened by fresh-out-of-school girls running down a corridor in pursuit of David Cassidy..." etc.) until the theater's management comes to tell us that one of the major attractions is about to go on.

It's about 9:15 as we climb back into our pit through a doorway designed for Tom Thumb's little brother. The security guards are now two-deep, wall-to-wall Schwarzneggers. The crowd is SRO. The photographers' contingent has grown to 12, several wearing overcoats and ironed trousers. ("Fleet Street" we say to each other and roll our eyes.)

Three likely lookers, the Jam, take to the stage in off-the-peg, funeral black suits and white shirts and play a short, hammer-powerful set. (Next time they appear in London it will be as headliners to their own sell-out concert.)

In the lull after they leave the

topple over the wall and into our pit. One asks me to look after his jersey before he climbs back over the wall.

Through the mayhem that follows—at times in tune with it—the decibel-driven heroes play on without missing a stroke.

A few punks break the security line, climb onto the low wall and jump onstage. Mysterious fellows dash from the wings to escort them away before they can touch their idols. The flow of cushions and other seating appendages is getting heavier.

Clash's lead singer Joe Strummer lifts a cushion above his head to announce that "we're in London have the pleasure of Capitol Radio two'n'y-four hours a day. Well, I fink it's a load of —"

This causes a greater surge forward. A few more guards topple over the wall and onto us. The crowd is now literally breathing down our neck and/or misting up our lenses. Eventually a seat cushion hits one of us squarely in the head.

Now rock photographers do

not frighten easily. We are a tough lot, with editors relying on us, press dates and deadlines to meet and a moral responsibility to get on with the job. But as one we fall through the small doorway into the sanctuary under the stage, pausing there only long enough

to tell each other "what actually happened."

"Fleet Street" dashes away to file their "hold-the-front-page" scoop. The rest of us head for a fast hamburger at MacDonalds, with the neon lighting and the plastic plants.

Next morning the popular press will castigate the Clash and

their fans for the evening's brouhaha. Liberals with shaggy beards will theorize about the "deeper causes"—dole/queue frustration, lives without hope, etc. etc. Nothing changes—except the ratings.

—Keith Bernstein
Keith Bernstein is a writer/photographer who has lived through the above.

Next morning the popular press will castigate the Clash and

Records

KILL ME I'M ROTTEN

By the Luchs Brothers
(Retread Records)

Punk music contains so many elements of self-parody—usually intentional—that it makes a difficult target for satire. One can make fun of punk paraphernalia and lifestyles, but in the music itself the humorist's work seems already done for him. After the Sex Pistols, what?

"Kill Me I'm Rotten," the Luchs Brothers' pseudo-punk single, provides an answer. In the best Johnny Rotten foam-at-the-mouth fashion, the vocalist demands to be put out of his mis-

ery, and makes it clear he is willing to return the favor: *I hate me and I hate you/Hate all my friends and strangers too/Only one thing left to do/You kill me and I'll kill you/Kill me I'm rotten/I'm rotten and I hate you all*, etc.

This is musical nihilism taken to its most satisfying conclusion.

The backup manages to sound like punk while actually being a little more accomplished than the average New Wave band. The drumming and the brief guitar solo, in particular, stand up to repeated listenings.

On the flip side is an equally delightful (if totally unrelated) number, "Losing My Lunch Over

You." What starts as a torchy piano-lounge ballad ends up something from Munchkin Land.

According to their press-sheet, the Luchs Brothers are "not a punk group, but a three-brother comedy act out of Wheaton [Ill.]." If these two offerings are any indication, they have some very strange things up their sleeves. ("Kill Me I'm Rotten" is available for \$2.00 post-paid from Retread Records, Inc., P.O. Box 282, Wheaton, IL 60187.)

—Bob Cranshaw
Bob Cranshaw is a free-lance writer and insurance salesman who does not wear a safety pin through his nose.

Okies: still the forgotten minority

By David Lyon

Once upon a time, in the late 1930s, California had an Okie problem. Dust bowl refugees clogged ditchbanks and creekbeds all along Highway 99, the north-south truck artery. Tent cities mushroomed on the fringes of airports and fairgrounds. Boxcars rocked with tousle-haired, rough-drawling farm boys who looked like young Henry Fondas. Communist agitators, like Pat Chambers, fought dubious battles for the souls of such people on the cotton plains near Pixley. The still night of the Salinas valley was dotted with campfires as the migrants waited for work that never came.

The war solved the Okie problem. The shipyards of Richmond and San Pedro, the arsenals and factories of Los Angeles and San Diego pulled the Okies into the American working class like magnets. Okies joined the unions, bought homes, and raised children who went to college.

Or did they?

According to official academic and bureaucratic lights, there are three minorities in the California central valley today: Mexican-Americans, blacks and Asians. Attention directed at these groups, however, inevitably turns up another element: a recalcitrant layer of poor whites—independent, proud, rootless and full of resentment over the degree of governmental attention, primarily through the schools, that is directed at the recognized minorities.

The phenomenon exists all down the valley, from Stockton to Bakerfield. It swirls into raw conflict in many places. In the oil town of Taft, poor whites are embattled over alleged favoritism granted black athletes at a junior college. In towns like Delano, Visalia and Merced, regular schoolyard friction occurs between knots of whites who stand around in big hats sucking on straws alongside their street rods and Mexicans whose emblems are the joint and the low-rider.

The presence of large numbers of blacks in a city like Stockton is a complicating factor. This year one high school was closed as a result of violence between Okies and Mexicans. Crisis-point violence has been common at all the newly integrated high schools and middle schools. A recent proposal for special courses in Okie pride was rejected by the school board. A teacher who supported similar programs for blacks and Mexicans summed up the board's position. "What's wrong with these kids?" she complained indignantly. "They're white, aren't they?" they?"

Defiantly, the poor whites embrace the term "Okie" as their legitimate cognomen. For many of them it is an excellent fit, for they are indeed the sons and daugh-

ters of dust-bowl migrants who did not disappear into the large cities but remained in the valley, never again owning land or engaging in serious farming.

Many lived, and continue to live, off the highway. They run garages, junkyards, trucks and truck stops, auto machine shops, and roadside grocery stores. They are welders, crop-dusters, roustabouts and casual laborers. They find their way into canneries and marginal factories, working for near or at the minimum wage.

The new Okies live on a periphery that is as temporary now, with its little Shaker-like white houses and planted trailers, as it was when they started here.

The Okies marry early, become grandparents in their middle 30s and tend to live in extended families. A few have become wealthy, trucking chickens, shuffling hay, hauling tomatoes and sugar beets in long, double-bottomed trucks, and these have

put their money, more often than not, into race cars and swimming pools.

The car and its auxiliaries—CB radios, hunting rifles and pick-ups—stand in relation to the modern Okies as buffalo did to plains Indians. They live off it, and have built a culture around its multiple meanings.

Whole families sacrifice food and clothing so that some favored male can seek his fortune on the mandala of the stock car oval each Saturday night. Immense outpourings of dedication and skill go into these ventures.

Young men sacrifice college and even marriage for the elusive prospect of winning a big prize in a street rod national or the drag races at Bakersfield, or even Pomona, down on the sinful side of the Tehachapi.

This winter Okies who worked at a lumber finishing mill in Stockton went on

strike. For weeks they maintained a picket of gaunt men collected around fires in oil drums while the company, in the throes of recession, cut back work with equanimity, successfully sought injunctions and hired scabs with ruthless aplomb. Finally, the national union, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, sent their attorney to put the strike out of its misery.

The Okies felt they had learned something during this strike, but nobody knew quite what. There was no one to translate the lessons for them.

They had felt a little modern industrial solidarity to go with their deep traditional bonds, the values of close family, craftsmanship, and painful honesty. But they still had no links to the greater world. *David Lyon teaches American Studies at Raymond-Callison College, University of the Pacific in Stockton.*



Photos by Judith Lyon.
Top: Prize winners at the track. Middle right: Grandpa Vernon, age 37, with youngest grandson, age 4. Middle left: Beer, country music and cars symbolize the Okie way of life. Bottom: "Okie" is a term the culture wears with pride.

